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Quotations from Chairman Mao

Communists throughout the world are wiser than the bourgeoisie. They understand the laws of the existence and development of things; they understand dialectics and they are more farsighted.

The movement is developing, new things lie ahead. New things appear endlessly. To study this movement in its entirety and its development is a major subject to which we must give constant attention. He who refuses to make a serious and careful study of this is no Marxist.

The future is bright, the road is tortuous.

We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles.

The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome.

What "taking the three directives as the key link"! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.

This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of "white cat, black cat," making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism.

He does not know Marxism-Leninism, he represents the bourgeoisie. He says he will "never reverse the verdict," but he can't be trusted.

We need not only a correct Marxist political line but also a correct Marxist military line.

Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be achieved in every factory, village, office and school.

Grasp revolution and promote production, other work and preparedness against war.

* * *

Party Central Committee Cables Message of Sympathy to Earthquake-Stricken Area

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)
(NCNA dispatch, July 28, 1976)

after a strong earthquake occurred in the tangshan-fengnan area in hopei province, our great leader chairman mao and the central committee of the communist party of china have shown great concern for the people in the stricken area. the c.p.c. central committee has cabled a message of sympathy to them. the message reads in full as follows:

the party committees and the revolutionary committees of hopei province and tientsin and peking municipalities, the peking military area command, the hopei provincial military area command, the peking garrison and the tientsin garrison of the chinese people's liberation army and the party committees, revolutionary committees at various levels, the people of various nationalities and the p.l.a. commanders and fighters of tangshan and places around it stricken by the earthquake:

a strong earthquake occurred in the tangshan-fengnan area on july 28, 1976 and affected tientsin and peking municipalities. it caused great losses to people's life and property, and the tangshan city, in particular, suffered extremely serious damages and losses. with great concern, our great leader chairman mao and the party central committee extend cordial sympathy to the people of various nationalities and commanders and fighters of the chinese people's liberation army afflicted with the earthquake.

the central committee believes that the people of various nationalities and commanders and fighters of the people's liberation army, armed with marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought and tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize lin piao and confucius, will certainly bring into full play the revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle, plunge into the anti-quake relief fight with a firm and indomitable will and develop production and rebuild their homes energetically and through self-reliance, under the leadership of the provincial and municipal party committees and revolutionary committees and the party committees of the p.l.a. units and with the support and assistance of the people of the whole country.

the central committee calls on the communist party members, communist youth league members, revolutionary cadres, workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and commanders and fighters of the chinese people's liberation army in the earthquake-stricken area to conscientiously study chairman mao's important instructions, take class struggle as the key link, deepen the great struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and repulse the right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts, and unite to fight against the serious natural calamity. be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory excl.

the central committee of the
communist party of china

july 28, 1976

Man Will Triumph Over Nature

- short commentary -

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

a strong earthquake occurred in the tangshan-fengnan area of hopei province on july 28, which affected the tientsin and peking municipalities. our great leader chairman mao and the party central committee have been very concerned for the people in the earthquake-stricken area. the central committee of the communist party of china cabled a message of sympathy to them, which has been a great encouragement to the broad masses who are now fighting against this grave natural calamity. under the guidance of chairman mao's revolutionary line, the party, government, army and people in the afflicted area, united as one, calm, confident and resolute, are fighting heroically and stubbornly in the relief work against the quake. support is being rushed in from all parts of the country. large quantities of medicine, food, clothing, building material and other materials and equipment are flowing in an endless stream to the quake-afflicted area, creating a magnificent scene of unity in struggle with many moving events glowing with communist attitudes. this is more proof that any grave natural calamity can be overcome with the guidance of chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the brilliant leadership of chairman mao and the party central committee and the socialist system of proletarian dictatorship by the heroic people who have been tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize lin piao and confucius and who are now advancing triumphantly in the struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and to beat back the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

man will triumph over nature -- this is a great marxist verity. faced by any grave natural calamity, marxists always bring into play man's indomitable revolutionary spirit to fight and triumph over it. chairman mao points out: "the wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. if they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a marxist-leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." (an introductory note to the article "the party secretary takes the lead and all the party members help run the co-operatives") the grave earthquake calamity has indeed created difficulties for us. but we must be aware that, like all "disturbances", natural calamities and the difficulties they create have a dual character, and in given conditions they can be transformed into their opposite. the decisive condition for transforming difficulty into smoothness is the factor of men, the existence of an advanced

class and a correct political line that represent it. we proletarians and communists are known for fearing no difficulties. in the course of transforming society and nature, we have overcome many difficulties and are ready to overcome all others that we may face, including those created by the present earthquake calamity. we are marxist dialectical materialists and revolutionary optimists. tactically we take every concrete difficulty seriously and, by taking such a serious attitude, we create the necessary conditions for overcoming it; strategically we despise all difficulties, no matter how great, to be dealt with as something to be fought and overcome. in the past two decades and more, we have defeated sabotage by class enemies at home and abroad and resistance by the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie in the party in particular, and have won great victories in the socialist revolution and construction. we have overcome various kinds of natural calamities and won good harvests for years running. provided we resolutely implement chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line, take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, and constantly sum up experience, we will certainly be able to overcome the present earthquake calamity and the resultant difficulties.

in the current relief work against the quake, we should bear in mind chairman mao's teaching: "we must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the party. these are two cardinal principles. if we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing." ("on the question of agricultural co-operation") our party is a long-tested marxist-leninist revolutionary party. our people is the revolutionary people armed with marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought. leadership by the party and reliance on the strength of the masses are the fundamental guarantees for overcoming all difficulties. after the present earthquake, party committees at all levels in the afflicted area took all necessary emergency measures and immediately led the masses in plunging into relief work. we are fully confident that under the correct leadership of chairman mao and the party central committee and by closely relying on the masses, we can be completely successful in the relief struggle. any view that underestimates the strength of the party and the people is groundless and entirely wrong.

class struggle is the great motive force propelling history forward. the current deep-going great struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts has promoted, and is promoting, the victorious advance of china's socialist revolution and construction. we should respond to the call of the party central committee, continue to study conscientiously chairman

mao's important instructions, take class struggle as the key link, deepen the criticism of teng hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, beat back the right-deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, display the indomitable revolutionary spirit of man triumphing over nature, guard against sabotage by class enemies, unite as one, work hard, grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war, and fight against this grave natural calamity. be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory excl. a heroic people armed with mao tsetung thought who dare to fight and to win will surely triumph.

Make Further Efforts to Foster New Socialist Things

by

Ch'eng Yüeh (程越)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

New socialist things have developed with speed and vigor in the course of repeated struggles against the revisionist line under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The various kinds of new things that emerged during the great cultural revolution have gradually become perfect and more popularized. At the same time, many more new things are emerging on all fronts and growing up in the storms of class struggle. Their widespread presence is a reflection of the thriving, excellent situation in the socialist cause of our country.

The mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is developing in depth; a number of Party organizations and outstanding individuals have made themselves known by their sharp perception of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and their courage in fighting against it; the ranks of worker-peasant-soldier activists in theoretical study have grown steadily and theoretical discussions have been held in a very lively way; and new advances have been made in applying Marxism to the study of politics, economics, military affairs, philosophy, history, literature, arts, science and technology and of international problems. The revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical productions has resulted in a hundred flowers blossoming in the garden of socialist literature and art, with a crop of excellent and fairly good works emerging in every branch of literature and art and the mass revolutionary literary and art activities making further progress in popularization and elevation. The revolution in education has continued to advance in the struggle against revisionism; Chairman Mao's concept on education has found its way deeper into people's minds; management of schools by the working class and poor and lower-middle peasants has improved steadily; the experience of Tsinghua and Peking universities in the revolution in education and the experience of the Chaoyang Agricultural College in enrolling students from among commune members who will go back to the communes on graduation has been spread far and wide; college graduates working as peasants has become a prevailing trend; "July 21" workers colleges and spare-time colleges for peasants are mushrooming everywhere; and new experience has been accumulated in the settling of city school graduates in the countryside. Chairman Mao's line in medical and health work has yielded rich results: rural cooperative medical services and barefoot doctors are growing sturdily in the course of struggle, 85 percent of the production brigades across the country now have their own cooperative medical services, a total of 1.5 to 1.6 million barefoot doctors have been trained, and professional medical personnel and barefoot doctors have begun to rotate their duties in addition to the sending of city medical teams to the rural areas. Many new things have also emerged in the scientific and technological, sports, journalistic, publishing and other departments. The mass movements to learn from Tachai in agriculture and from Tach'ing in industry are continuing to forge ahead. Cadre participation in productive labor and worker participation in management have become still more widespread and regular and been practiced in a variety of ways. The May 7 cadre schools

have consolidated and improved themselves through struggle. Three-in-one leading bodies made up of the old, middle-aged and young in many places have gone through the tests of struggle and gained in vigor and vitality. A host of stirring exploits shining with communist spirit have emerged in the current struggle to offset the effects of the earthquake and in post-quake relief work. These are all victories won by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and important signs marking the deepening of the socialist revolution.

The birth and growth of the new socialist things has served to fortify the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in all spheres of the superstructure and the economic base. With classes, class contradictions and class struggle still existing in socialist society, the bourgeoisie in the Party is the main force in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. To restore capitalism, capitalist roaders in the Party such as Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing vigorously promote the revisionist line, safeguard the old capitalist things, and attack the proletariat in all spheres of the superstructure and the economic base. How can the proletariat defeat the bourgeoisie and eventually eliminate it? This calls for continuing, untiring struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party, combating their revisionist line, unceasingly criticizing the old things which they defend with all effort, and developing and expanding the new socialist things in opposition to the bourgeoisie in the course of struggle. "There is no construction without destruction." It is impossible to develop the new socialist things unless the old capitalist things are criticized. The greater the number of Party organizations and outstanding individuals determined to fight the revisionist line and the greater the number of people consciously safeguarding and fostering new socialist things, the more difficult it will be to restore capitalism. The new socialist things have all come into being through struggle, and it is through the struggle to criticize the old and support the new that the proletariat has advanced the revolution, steadily strengthened its dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, reduced the breeding grounds of capitalism, and step by step created conditions in which it would be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.

The new socialist things that have emerged since the start of the great cultural revolution are all great creations by the masses of the people in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the course of struggle. Crystallizing the new socialist and communist ideas and spirit, they have served to criticize and restrict bourgeois rights in all spheres to varying extents, showing the direction in which the socialist revolution advances. Bourgeois rights which still exist in socialist society constitute the soil and conditions which give rise to a new bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeoisie in the Party. A very important reason why the unrepentant capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing slashed out at the new socialist things recklessly is that these new-born things had touched bourgeois rights to the quick. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's perverse acts have taught us by negative example how important it is to support the new socialist things in order to restrict bourgeois rights and to persevere in the socialist revolution. Some people pay lip service to restricting bourgeois rights, yet they fail to see or look down upon the new things that emerge from mass struggles. They turn their eyes upward and wait for methods from the above for the restriction of bourgeois rights. Where do these methods come from? Don't they still

come from the summing up of the experiences of the masses in the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line? The masses have potentially great socialist initiative. After the victory of the democratic revolution, the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not cease to advance; they do not like those old things which crystallize bourgeois rights to a serious extent and bind them hand and foot. They have, from agricultural cooperativization to the struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, firmly followed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and, with their own revolutionary practice, created, defended and developed all kinds of new socialist things to restrict bourgeois rights. "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." It is in the course of unceasingly getting rid of old things and creating new things that the vast masses of people have pushed history forward. Going to mass struggles, carefully searching for young shoots of new things, intensively watering them, tirelessly eradicating the harmful insects and weeds that endanger these young shoots so as to make them develop, expand and spread far and wide--such is a task that should be borne by every Communist who perseveres in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A number of new things created by the broad masses in recent years are now playing a vital role in restricting bourgeois rights in respect to the mutual relationships among people, in preventing leading cadres from turning into bureaucrats and bourgeois elements like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing who suck the blood of the workers. In 1964, in an instruction on socialist education, Chairman Mao said: "If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, eat, live and work with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class." Since the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was initiated, through studying a series of important directives laid down by Chairman Mao and on the basis of summing up the experience of cadre participation in labor and worker participation in management, some factories have practiced the system under which cadres and managerial staff rotate their duties with workers at regular intervals. In some places and units the system under which cadres and intellectuals rotate their duties with commune members at regular intervals has been put into practice, cadres of armed forces have gone to the companies to serve as privates, and so on and forth. In the struggle to offset the effects of the earthquake and in post-quake relief work, large groups of cadres on their own initiative eat, live and work with the masses. New things such as these are directed at Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party. Facts in various places show that eating, living and working with the masses and learning and receiving revolutionary supervision from them helps the cadres to do away with bureaucratic airs, remold their old ideology, truly identify themselves with the worker-peasant masses, be one with the workers, peasants and soldiers in thinking and feeling and prevent themselves from becoming capitalist-roaders and bureaucrats lording it over the people. It enables the worker-peasant-soldier masses to act as masters of the country, take a direct part in leadership and management, attend to major issues, judge everything by the criterion of political lines and see to it that things proceed in a correct orientation so as to persevere in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consolidate proletarian leadership and develop the system of socialist ownership. It also contributes to a certain degree to the freeing of the cadres and masses from

their narrow division of labor. Through participation in management, the workers, peasants and soldiers will learn to run the state and direct production; through participation in labor, the cadres will learn one or more production skills. Both will be of far-reaching significance for narrowing the gap between mental and manual labor.

The cadres and people have made many innovations in restricting bourgeois rights in the field of distribution according to work and exchange of equal values. For example, some rural cadres who have been promoted to leading posts still get their pay in work-points and college graduates have returned to work as peasants. These new emerging things, though still taking the form of distribution according to work within the framework of socialist collective ownership, are a beginning of minimizing the inequality caused by the differences between town and country, worker and peasant and mental and manual labor. In rural trade, there are such innovations as socialist fairs and commissioned supply and marketing shops. Though still taking the form of monetary exchange within the framework of the socialist commodity system, they help expand the business of socialist trade and weaken the soil in rural commodity circulation that might engender capitalism, and restrict bourgeois rights to a certain extent in the sphere of exchange. Through their practice, people have refuted Teng Hsiao-p'ing's absurdity that there is no material foundation for restricting bourgeois rights. Experience can be gradually accumulated as long as the leaders abide by a correct ideological-political line, persist in continuing the revolution, take the lead in carrying forward the style of arduous struggle displayed in the years of the revolutionary war, maintain close contact with the masses, support their initiative, pay attention to the correct implementation of various policies of the Party and unite with the majority.

It will require the efforts of several generations throughout the historical period of socialism to complete the process from the restriction of bourgeois rights to their ultimate elimination. The restrictions imposed by the new socialist things upon bourgeois rights are, in many fields, only a beginning. However, this beginning is very important. A journey of a thousand li begins with the first step. With this beginning, we can sum up experience so as to enrich, develop, popularize new socialist things, raise them to higher levels and gradually promote and strengthen restrictions on bourgeois rights. The appearance of new things has broadened the vision of the people, liberated their minds, and smashed their superstitious belief in old things, old traditional ideas and the force of old habit. This will stimulate people's proletarian revolutionary spirit in a persistent and unceasing struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party who defend the old things and their revisionist line, so that they will criticize the old things in greater breadth and depth and create more things in the course of struggle. In this way, our socialist society will go on forging ahead with vigor.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Experience, both positive and negative, proves that whether or not new socialist things can be discovered in time and supported with ardor hinges on the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line followed by the leading cadres. Only when the leaders seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, deeply understand the nature,

target, tasks and future of the socilaist revolution, consciously remold their world outlook, and thoroughly break with Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line will they be able to probe into realities and go among the masses to carry out investigations, sum up experience and discover in time and support new socialist things. Only thus will they be able to ardently assist new things in overcoming their weaknesses and defects in the course of advance and developing along the correct orientation, and raise them to higher levels. And only thus will they be able to create revolutionary public opinion in a big way for the popularization of new things and mobilize the masses to firmly struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party and the old ideas and the force of old habit that endanger new things. If leaders follow a wrong ideological and political line, lord it over the people, divorce themselves from realities, and are uninterested in the aspirations, demands, inventions and creations of the people,they cannot possibly adopt a correct attitude toward new things and will not be able to distinguish between new socialist things and old capitalist things. They will be blind to the new things which are growing before their eyes and may even suppress their growth. Haven't such cases sometimes appeared in real life? Our leading comrades must make an effort to study and seriously carry out a series of important directives laid down by Chairman Mao in the course of the struggle to criticize Teng and become promoters of new socialist things.

New socialist things are born amid struggles and, in order to grow and expand, to be popularized and elevated, they must inevitably undergo a difficult and devious struggle. The bourgeoisie in the Party opposes them, class enemy in society tries to undermine and corrode them, and the force of old habit and conservative ideology will also ridicule them. New socialist things themselves involve a course of gradual perfection. On the question of how to deal with new socilaist things, the struggle between the two classes and two lines in the Party will not die out in the whole of the historical period of socialism. The bourgeoisie in the Party is the representative of the capitalist relations of production and, in order to restore capitalism, they always stubbornly defend all decadent things and ferociously strangle all new things. Just as Lenin pointed out, laughing at the fragile young shoots of new things and hampering the development of new things "actually is a means used by the bourgeoisie to wage class struggle against the proletariat, to protect capitalism and oppose socialism." ("A Great Beginning," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 15) High officials who practice revisionism such as Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing are themselves bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. These people are the target of revolution and struggle. How can you expect them to support the new things which serve to restrict bourgeois rights? Chairman Mao has said: "Without struggle, there is no progress." To support and develop new socialist things, it is imperative to firmly grasp class struggle as the key link and resolutely struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party and the revisionist line they push. New things will develop to the extent that the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie has advanced, to the extent that the struggle to criticize the revisionist line with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has deepened. At the present moment, it is necessary to concentrate on criticizing Teng in

light of the actual situation of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines on all fronts. Unless we wage resolute struggle against Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his revisionist line and eliminate its pernicious influence on all fronts, it will be impossible for us to make a genuine effort to foster new socialist things. We must promote the development of new socialist things through penetratingly criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and his crimes of stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, negating new things and restoring capitalism on various fronts.

Chairman Mao points out: "The supersession of the old by the new is an eternal and irresistible general law of the universe." The bourgeoisie and the capitalist system have long been like the sun setting in the western hills, a man breathing his last. The old ideas, old institutions and old things that are defended by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party are heading for extinction. The proletariat and new socialist and communist ideas, new institutions and new things are developing with vigor. Faced with so many new socialist things that have emerged, we are full of confidence in victory and full of hope for the future. Our prospects are bright, but the road is tortuous. Class struggle still goes on. History is marching forward in big strides amid struggles of the masses of people who are creating new things.

* * *

The Proletarians Are Revolutionary Optimists

by

Pi Sheng (毕 盛)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

Initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts has smashed the criminal plot of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, in making a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism. This is another great victory we have scored against the bourgeoisie within the Party after the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were shattered during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Although our struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party will still undergo a protracted and tortuous course and the danger of capitalist restoration exists during the entire historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie is bound to fail and the proletariat will surely triumph. There is certainly no doubt about this general trend of historical development.

It is a matter of objective reality that the bourgeoisie appears in the Party and that there are inner-Party contradictions and struggles. Everything develops through its internal contradictions and struggles, and there is no exception in the case of a party. As Engels pointed out long ago, "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles." "And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out." ("To A. Bebel," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 35, p. 380) Referring to the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party, Chairman Mao has emphatically pointed out: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?" Those in power in the Party taking the capitalist road, like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who represent in a concentrated way the interests of both the new and old bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, are the main force in endangering the Party and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our struggle against them embodies a concentrated reflection of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads during the socialist period and decides the destiny and future of our country. If we do not promptly expose and shatter the capitalist roaders' conspiracy to usurp the Party leadership and seize power, the bourgeoisie will exercise dictatorship over the proletariat. If we do not criticize the revisionist line pushed by them, the fruit of proletarian revolution with respect to the superstructure and economic base will be lost. It is crystal clear that it won't do without struggle. Only when we fully understand the danger of the Party bourgeoisie restoring capitalism and consciously wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it, is it possible to successfully consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent the restoration of capitalism, and advance our socialist cause continuously. It is not an attitude to be taken by Marxists to negate or evade the contradictions between the

proletariat and the bourgeoisie and to be tired or afraid of waging struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party.

The proletarians are revolutionary optimists; they are full of confidence in winning the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. "The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe." ("On Contradiction") The new things are bound to win over the decadent, and revolution is bound to triumph over reaction. Like the bourgeoisie as a whole, the bourgeoisie within the Party is the representative of the decadent relations of production and a declining reactionary force in itself. Moving its headquarters inside the Communist Party does not show the power of the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it clearly indicates that repeatedly struggled against by us, the bourgeoisie in society has become utterly discredited and found itself in a difficult situation in which it can hardly fly its own colors and get together publicly to launch an all-round trial of strength with the proletariat. Although the bourgeoisie inside the Party still possesses certain amounts of reactionary energy and counter-revolutionary destructive power, this is merely a reflection of a last-ditch struggle by the overthrown reactionary class. Like all other reactionaries in history, the bourgeoisie inside the Party is also a paper tiger which is nothing to fear. Moving against the historical tide, they "uphold the ideology and the capitalist social system under which the bourgeoisie oppresses and exploits the proletariat." It is inevitable that they will be smashed to pieces by the wheel of history. The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system--this is an objective law independent of man's will. No matter how Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and other ringleaders of the revisionist line wail in total despair, frenziedly attack and smear the excellent situation in revolution and utter such nonsense as "brink of collapse," "crises loom everywhere," and "old habits are difficult to get rid of," they can never shake the iron-like determination of the Chinese people to persistently take the socialist road and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as their confidence in victory.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing." ("On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation") Having faith in the Party and in the masses--this is the very source of inexhaustible strength for us to defeat the bourgeoisie within the Party.

Our Party is a proletarian party personally created and nurtured by our great leader Chairman Mao. The appearance of the bourgeoisie inside the Party will neither change the nature of our Party as the vanguard of the proletariat nor tarnish the brilliant image of our Party. On the contrary, our Party dares to openly acknowledge and expose the bourgeoisie inside the Party, and this precisely shows that our Party is strong and powerful. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, which occupies the principal leading position within our Party, has taken deeper roots in the hearts of the people with each passing day; this is a fundamental guarantee that our Party is able to defeat the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, we laid bare and criticized the

bourgeois representatives like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing as well as renegades and agents under their wing. This has made our Party purer, stronger and more vigorous. Our Party has summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad. In particular, it has drawn a historical lesson from the Soviet Union turning revisionist. It has also accumulated an abundance of experience during its protracted struggle against opportunism and revisionism. This is an important condition enabling our Party to defeat the bourgeoisie in the Party. For the past 55 years, our Party has been advancing amid the storms of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines. The opportunist and revisionist ringleaders in the Party have time and again jumped out to attempt to split our Party, but without success. On the contrary, we have eliminated these "worms" in the revolutionary ranks and the whole Party has united in a still firmer way around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao while advancing triumphantly in the direction of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The historical experience convinces us: "This Party of ours has a bright future."

The workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants are our main force in defeating the bourgeoisie in the Party. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution." "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like bigshots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution." The "bigshots" of the bourgeoisie in the Party such as Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing took advantage of the power in their hands to carry out restoration and regression and oppose the revolution. Since they offended the great majority of the people, they are sure to be opposed and spurned by the masses of people. The great proletarian cultural revolution has fully shown the mighty strength of the masses of people in struggling against the bourgeoisie in the Party. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing once ran amuck, but they fell one after another when the masses of people rose up against them. Hundreds of millions of people who are reading and studying seriously to have a good grasp of Marxism and are taking part in the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, have raised their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and enhanced their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism. We fully believe that the bourgeoisie in the Party will inevitably be exposed, resisted and criticized by the revolutionary people with a high degree of political consciousness no matter how it may change its tactics and what games it may play. During the current great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, haven't great numbers of ordinary workers, peasants, PLA fighters, young students and grassroots cadres risen up to resist and criticize the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and become the pathbreakers in courageous struggle against Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line? This situation inspires us. History has proved and will continue to prove that in the great struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, a great number of outstanding backbone members who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line will emerge from among the masses of people and millions and millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause will be trained to carry the great cause started by the proletarian revolutonaries of the older generation through to the end.

"While the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns." ("On the Chungking Negotiations") Proletarian revolutionary optimism differs from blind optimism in that we understand this dialectics of historical development. Blind optimists fail to see or see unclearly the laws governing class struggle in socialist society. They are apt to slacken their vigilance and fall a prey to the theory of the dying out of class struggle or become pessimistic and despondent when the revolution encounters twists and turns. We must not only see the bright prospects of the revolution and be confident of its eventual victory, but must also see the twists and turns of the revolutionary road, strengthen our revolutionary fighting will and be prepared to fight for the bright future consciously and with unremitting determination. The decadent class, although rotten down to the roots like a dying big tree, will not step down from the historical stage of its own accord, but will try to protect its existence by all means and make a death-bed struggle. It always takes a rather long period of reversals before an old system can be buried in its grave. Historically, the replacement of an old system by a new one and the defeat of the decadent and moribund class by a rising new class must go through a long and tortuous course of struggle. The revolution in China through which the slave system was replaced by the feudal system took more than 370 years, from 594 B.C. when the State of Lu imposed the first land tax, to 221 B.C. when Ch'ing Shih Huang unified the whole of China, a period of repeated struggles between progress and regression and between revolution and restoration. These struggles continued for many more years after the newly emerging landlord class seized nationwide power. The bourgeois revolutions of England, France and the United States went through tortuous struggles that lasted 48 years, 86 years and nearly a century respectively. This being the case with revolutions in history in which one exploiting system was replaced by another, naturally the proletarian revolution, which is aimed at thorough elimination of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and all exploiting systems, will take a longer period of time and go through more twists and turns. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again ever 7 or 8 years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out." So long as classes, class struggle and bourgeois rights still exist at home and so long as imperialism and social-imperialism still exist internationally, it is inevitable that "the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." The downfall of one or two ringleaders of the revisionist line does not mean the complete extinction of the bourgeoisie in the Party or of the bourgeoisie as a whole. They certainly will not be reconciled to their defeat, but will surely regroup the counter-revolutionary forces, change their counter-revolutionary tactics, and continue to test their strength with the proletariat. Class struggle and the struggle between the two lines are independent of man's will. How can one imagine that class enemies will change their reactionary class nature, that the monsters and demons will not jumpt out, and that the bourgeoisie, new and old, will not engage in conspiracies and sabotage? How can one imagine that we can thoroughly defeat the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party as a whole and sweep away all the rubbish of the old society after one or two, even three or four, struggles? That class struggle and the struggle between the two lines will unfold one after another is something that fully conforms to the law and nothing to get alarmed about or to grieve. "Swimming in rivers with adverse currents, we can temper our will and courage!" For cadres and the masses who persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, setbacks, twists and

turns in revolutionary struggles can steel their will, arouse their enthusiasm, increase their skills and enhance their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism.

In the final analysis, whether or not one takes a revolutionary optimistic attitude toward the current struggle and the future of the revolution is a question of world outlook. Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the ideological basis of revolutionary optimism. Idealism and metaphysics are the epistemological source of all pessimistic views. Some good-natured comrades of ours always imagine that the revolutionary ranks are pure and the revolutionary road is straight, and so, when they encounter setbacks, they become worried and fail to see the bright future ahead. When analyzing the situation of revolutionary struggle, they often over-estimate the strength of the enemy but under-estimate the strength of the people, and hence arrive at unrealistic class appraisals. The reason for this is that the method of thinking with which they look at things is subjective, superficial and one-sided to a considerable extent, making it impossible for them to distinguish between the essence and appearance of things and between the main aspects and the minor ones. Thus, when analyzing the prospects of class struggle and social development, they are apt to be influenced by pessimistic views spread by the bourgeoisie. In dealing with natural disasters, we must also take a revolutionary optimistic attitude and display revolutionary heroism. Natural disasters are not to be feared,nor are earthquakes. "Man will triumph over nature"--this is a great truth. "Thoroughgoing materialists have nothing to fear." ("Speech at the CCP National Propaganda Work Conference") To be revolutionary optimists, we must be thoroughgoing materialists. For this, we must diligently study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, actively plunge into the raging flames of mass struggle, take in rich political nourishment, conscientiously remold our world outlook, and constantly rid ourselves of the ideological influence of idealism and mataphysics. Only thus can we enhance our revolutionary spirit, strengthen our confidence in the inevitability of victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party, and become vanguard fighters continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Strengthen Unity in the Struggle to Criticize Teng

by

Ch'ing Yen (青岩)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

Inspired by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts has won great victories, and it is now continuing to deepen. In the struggle, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country have conscientiously studied Marxism and a series of important directives laid down by Chairman Mao, criticized in depth Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, further heightened the awareness of class struggle and struggle between the two lines, strengthened the unity of the Party and the revolutionary ranks, and promoted the vigorous development of socialist revolution and construction.

The history of the struggle between the two lines within the Party tells us that Party unity invariably is closely linked with the struggle between the two lines. All opportunist chieftains of the past opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line politically and pushed the opportunist line; organizationally, they were bound to work for a split and undermine the unity of the Party. Chairman Mao said in 1971: "We have been singing the Internationale for fifty years, yet on ten occasions certain people inside our Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another ten, twenty or thirty times. You don't believe it? You may not believe it. Anyhow, I do." Only by launching resolute struggle against the revisionist chieftains who pursued the splittist line and plot can we obtain Party unity and the unity of the people. Therefore, after every major struggle between the two lines, our Party became more united, vigorous and richer in fighting power on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The current struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is another strong proof.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing is the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party. The revisionist line pushed by him reflects in a concentrated way the wishes and demands of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party for capitalist restoration and thoroughly betrays Marxism. Therefore, he is naturally a splittist. In a directive on the socialist education movement, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other." In the course of the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao again pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." This instruction of Chairman Mao's profoundly elucidates the characteristics and law of class struggle during the historical period of socialism and more specifically verifies the nature, tasks and target of the socialist revolution. At the same time it also makes us clearly see that the main danger to the split of the revolutionary ranks comes from the bourgeoisie and capitalist roaders in the Party. Hasn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing fully demonstrated this? Shortly after he resumed work,

he dished up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," tampered with the basic line of the Party, negated the great proletarian cultural revolution, strangled the new socialist things, and tried his utmost to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. To achieve his criminal goal, he intrigued and conspired in a futile effort to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, drive a wedge between the Party and the masses and between new and old cadres, and sabotage the unity between the army and the people and between the army and government. This shows that revisionism is the political and ideological source of splittism and that splittism is the organizational expression of revisionism. In order to consolidate and strengthen unity based on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it is necessary to deepen the criticism of Teng, wage resolute struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party, and use the Marxist line to defeat their revisionist line.

Chairman Mao has pointed out incisively: "What 'taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." In talking about unity, we surely mean unity based on Marxism-Leninism, not unity without principle. Of the three principles--"The three dos and three don'ts"--put forward by Chairman Mao, the first is "practice Marxism and not revisionism." Only by practicing Marxism can unity be assured of a basis, and what kind of unity can we have with the revisionists? On the contrary, the more thoroughly we break with them, the better. We will never unite with the capitalist roaders in the Party like Teng Hsiao-p'ing. We must struggle against them. "Without struggle, there is no progress." Moreover, only by resolutely struggling against them can we strengthen unity within the revolutionary ranks. At present, it is only by concentrating on an in-depth criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and drawing a clear line between what is right and what is wrong concerning the line in light of the current situation on various fronts that the revolutionary ranks can achieve ideological solidarity, have a single goal, march in step,strengthen unity and fight together. Experiences of many advanced areas and units prove that the more Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line is criticized, the better we can see our orientation and line and the better we can unite. The notion that in-depth criticism of Teng may affect unity among the revolutionary ranks and create confusion is groundless.

Continuing to strengthen unity among the revolutionary ranks during class struggle is something called for by the revolutionary cause. More than a century ago, Marx and Engels put forward in "Communist Manifesto" the militant call "proletarians of the whole world, unite!" with the aim of mobilizing the proletariat to struggle against the bourgeoisie and eventually wipe out capitalism and all exploitative systems. In the course of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has always stressed unity of the Party, unity of the people and unity of all nationalities in the country with the aim of organizing millions and millions of the masses into a mighty revolutionary army to isolate to the maximum and strike at a handful of class enemies and win the victory of the revolution. In the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, it is likewise necessary to pay attention to uniting over 95 percent of the cadres and masses. In reversing verdicts, capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing go against the will of the people, and have become extremely isolated. If only we firmly

adhere to the general orientation of the struggle, strictly discern and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions and seriously implement the Party's various proletarian policies, we will surely be able to unite the majority. We must point the spearhead of struggle at Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the bourgeoisie within the Party. As for those comrades who have made mistakes, we must apply Chairman Mao's consistent policy "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient" and do everything possible to help them return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Comrades who have made mistakes, particularly those who have made mistakes about the line, must also take a correct approach toward the cultural revolution, the masses and themselves. They must seriously study a series of important directives laid down by Chairman Mao, and make an effort to understand the nature, tasks, target and future of the socialist revolution. They must take a correct stand, completely break with Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and take the lead in exposing and criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. They must correct their mistakes and remold their world outlook amid struggles. Regarding disputes and differences existing among the revolutionary masses, we must, proceeding from the desire for unity, eliminate the barriers, unite all to fight and concentrate on criticizing Teng. The criticism of Teng is a major struggle concerning the fate of the Party and the state as well as a major event of the revolution. All revolutionary comrades must unite under the general goal of criticizing Teng. They must never be entangled by side issues and divert their attention away from or dilute the general orientation of criticizing Teng and beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, capitalist roaders attempted to incite the masses to struggle against each other with the aim of changing the orientation of the struggle, and this historical experience must be borne in mind.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We must firmly unite all the forces of the Party under the principle of organization and discipline of democratic centralism." ("On the Coalition Government") In order to deepen the criticism of Teng in light of the current situation of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines on various fronts, to further consolidate and develop the achievements of the cultural revolution and to promote the vigorous development of new socialist things, we must closely rally around the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader, implement the strategic plan of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and unite our thinking, policy, plan, command and action on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. We must strengthen the Party's centralized leadership and carry out the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts under the unified leadership of Party committees at all levels. We must not build mountain strongholds, exchange visits or organize fighting groups. We must persistently implement the great policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war," heighten our revolutionary vigilance, deal resolute blows at the enemy's sabotage and trouble-making activities and make all work advance victoriously along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao has called on us to "unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be realized in every factory, village, office and school." There is still a

great deal of work to be done in the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and these tasks are still very arduous and complicated. We must unite, carry forward the proletariat's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit, press ahead with victories, and carry the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts through to the end.

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Worker Participation in Enterprise Management Is Good

by

the Party Committee of Peichiao /Northern Suburbs/
Lumber Plant, Peking Municipality

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

In 1969, during the great proletarian cultural revolution, we established a three-level management network of "five personnel and five groups" from the shop floor to the whole plant on the basis of criticism of the revisionist line in running enterprises and in accordance with the principles set forth in the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." This has brought into full play the role of workers as masters of the house and has promoted both revolution and production. In the current great struggle to thoroughly criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, after studying Chairman Mao's series of important instructions concerning "the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party" and reviewing our experiences in persistently having workers participate in enterprise management during the past seven years, we have deeply realized that worker participation in enterprise management is a cardinal issue as regards the orientation and line in running enterprises. It is also an important measure designed to place enterprise leadership in the hands of genuine Marxists and the worker masses, to adjust the mutual relations among people and to restrict bourgeois rights.

Over the past few years, worker participation in enterprise management, a new socialist thing, has continued to gain strength and grow amid struggles. While it is easy to institute worker participation in enterprise management, establish an organization and set up some rules, it is not so easy to have it play an effective role instead of turning it into a mere formality. In this connection, the key lies in whether or not "the squad of people" of the Party committee read and study seriously, persist in waging struggle against revisionism and traditional old ideas, constantly raise their awareness of the great significance in having workers participate in enterprise management,and pursue a correct line.

In participating in management, whether workers should only take charge of production or take care of the line and orientation first is not a simple question as regards the scope of management, but is a major issue that concerns who holds the enterprise leadership and what kind of line is followed, a cardinal issue as to whether or not worker participation in management can be persisted in and developed. In this connection, we have learned our lessons. Prior to the great cultural revolution, our plant installed eight managerial personnel on the shop floor, but due to the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, their duties were limited to production affairs and workers still had no right to ask questions about the orientation and line of the enterprise. Thus not only were the worker masses deprived of the power of enterprise leadership, but the leaders of the enterprise also made mistakes The great cultural revolution raised our awareness, but the idea that "worker participation in management should be limited to production" still often manifested itself. When it was proposed to establish an organization for workers to participate in enterprise management, some people favored setting up an organization to deal with production operations

only. And after the establishment of workers management groups, some comrades, while devoting more concrete efforts to relying on the workers to manage production operations, largely paid lip service to relying on them to take care of the line and orientation.

To solve this problem, over the past years we organized cadres at all levels as well as staff members and workers to repeatedly study Marx's thesis on the dual nature of management in Capital and the series of Chairman Mao's instructions on "wholehearted reliance on the working class." As a result, we gradually came to understand that socialist enterprise management involves first of all a struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, with its target being those capitalist roaders in the Party who are locked in sharp class struggle with the working class. Therefore, workers to participate in management should first assist and supervise the Party committee in strictly following the correct line and orientation so as to prevent the enterprise leaders from taking the capitalist road and the capitalist roaders from usurping the leadership of the enterprise. This is fundamental to relying on workers to manage the enterprise, and without this it would be impossible to talk about persisting in and developing worker participation in management.

Facts have sufficiently proved that through the great cultural revolution, the broad worker masses have raised their awareness. They are good at discerning the revisionist line, at daring to wage struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party and are able to discover in good time and criticize the leaders who deviate from a correct line and make mistakes. In 1973, when the plant was engaged in a capital construction project, some comrades who wanted the job done fast adopted a system of quotas for individuals, whereby one who finished a day's work rarly could rest early, in order to arouse the so-called "enthusiasm" of the workers. On discovering this problem, the worker supervisors made an analysis and concluded that this was nothing but a variant of "material incentives" that had been criticized in the cultural revolution and a manifestation of the pernicious influence of the revisionist line. So promptly they raised it with the Party committee. Accepting this criticism, the Party committee led the cadres and workers in thoroughly criticizing the revisionist line in running enterprises and raised everyone's awareness. Led by the worker supervisors, they grasped revolution and promoted production. A project originally scheduled for completion in half a month was completed in 3 days. This incident deeply educated us. Everyone said with feeling: "Having the worker masses take charge of the orientation and line of the enterprise is of inestimable significance to assuring the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and placing the leadership of the enterprise firmly in the hands of the proletariat!"

To enable workers to take still better care of the orientation and line of the enterprise, we adopted a number of measures, including the following: regular participation by the heads of worker management groups in meetings of the plant's revolutionary committee so as to exercise leadership over the major issues of the plant; formation of worker inspection teams to examine periodically the study, labor, work and implementation of the line by leaders at all levels; and the need for the Party committee to fully consult worker supervisors and listen to their views before deciding on major issues so as to make workers masters of the house. It was because the Party committee relied on the worker masses to look after the line and orientation that when Teng Hsiao-p'ing pushed the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and advocated "overall

rectification" in an attempt to wreck the gains of the cultural revolution in respect to worker participation in management, we were able, with the support of the workers, to more effectively resist the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts by Teng, oppose him, and protect and develop this new thing--worker participation in management.

To uphold worker participation in management, it is also necessary to incessantly criticize the revisionist line of "management of factories by experts" and the idealist concept of history that "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid," and to solve among the cadres, particularly leading cadres, the question of whether we should rely on the working class wholeheartedly or half-heartedly. Some comrades mistakenly believe that with the revisionist line in running enterprises criticized in the cultural revolution and the organization and system for workers to participate in management established, the problem of relying on workers to run enterprises has been virtually settled. This is incorrect. In the course of having workers participate in management, the struggle between the two ideologies and the two lines is very acute. At one time, for instance, imbalance in production appeared. Large quantities of semi-finished products were piled up in some workshops, and products could not be delivered out of the plant, affecting both the fulfillment of the contracts and plans and cash flow. The related office then adjusted these production plans, strengthened production control, overhauled the labor organization, and took a number of steps. But the situation did not improve noticeably. Having realized this, the worker supervisors suggested to the Party committee the formation of an investigating team with workers as the mainstay and the participation of leading cadres and office staff in a joint effort to solve this problem. But some comrades just shook their heads, saying: "The office cadres devote their full time to this work every day. They are so familiar with the plant's production arrangements that they can tell what is what even with their eyes closed. What can a workers investigation accomplish?" But with the approval of most comrades, the Party committee accepted the workers' proposal. Under its leadership, the investigating team obtained a thorough understanding of the production plan and the results of work done at various stages. They discovered that most of the piled-up products were time-consuming items of low output value. Obviously, this was not a simple question of production arrangements, but a manifestation of the pernicious influence of the revisionist line in running enterprises. The crux of the problem was found. The investigating team submitted its findings to the Party committee with recommendations. According to these recommendations, we changed the practice of discussing a thing only on its own merit. First of all we organized the staff members and workers to further criticize the revisionist line on enterprise management and adopted a number of necessary measures. The passive situation of production was reversed in only a month time, and cash flow also improved to a great extent.

With this incident in mind and in relation to our thinking, we discussed why some comrades did not trust an investigation by the workers. The main reason, it was agreed, was that some comrades of ours did not have full faith in the ability of the workers to manage the enterprise. They maintained that while it was possible for the workers to make suggestions, it was necessary to depend mainly on the professional cadres to run the management in the real sense. Some believed that it would complicate matters to consult the workers managerial groups in doing everything. In addition,

some cadres approved of only workers sharing their managerial load, but they resented the workers' supervision over the cadres' style of thinking and style of work. In the circumstances where these erroneous notions existed, some comrades, while paying lip service to relying on the worker masses, often did the opposite in action. As the workers said in criticism of these people: "You talk and write a lot about worker participation in management, but you don't bear it in mind." Why? The basic reason is that the pernicious influence of "management of factories by experts" and "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid" had not been completely eliminated. Following this analysis, we saw clearly that only by continuing to criticize the idealist conception of history and the revisionist line and firmly setting up the idea of relying on the working class whole-heartedly was it possible to regard the workers as masters of the enterprise and not as "walking sticks," to look upon worker participation in management as a major plan for a hundred years, and not as an expedient measure, and to ardently support this new thing and not to grasp it off and on, thereby rendering worker participation in enterprise management a mere formality.

Correctly seeing and handling the relationship between professional management and mass management is also a problem that must be solved if worker participation in management is to be upheld. Practice makes us realize that the relationship between professional managerial staff and worker managerial staff is in essence a class relationship. Although professional management is still indispensable to socialist enterprises, yet the fact that a number of people are confined to the scope of professional management while the majority are the target of management reflects the vestiges of the old social division of work, an indication of bourgeois rights in human relations in an enterprise. Therefore, effective integration of professional management with mass management requires the restricting of bourgeois rights in human relations.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class. If they don't learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won't be able to do management well either. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others." After studying this important directive of Chairman Mao's and summing up our own practical experience, we became keenly aware that worker participation in management creates conditions for cadres to practice three togetherness and that only by doing so can cadres effectively restrict bourgeois rights, integrate professional and mass management, and promote the development of worker participation in management.

As far as our plant's technical work is concerned, prior to the cultural revolution workers had no say in it. The plant's technical power was in the hands of a small number of people. In those days workers had to pass numerous tests in order to carry out a technical innovation project. This dampened the socialist enthusiasm of the worker masses. After worker participation in management was initiated, things changed considerably. But some technicians were so accustomed to carrying out design work in their office, isolating themselves from the masses and from reality that they remained distant from the worker managerial staff and could

hardly be integrated with the masses. In view of this, we continued to conduct education in ideology and the political line among the technicians, enabling them to realize that effective professional--mass integration requires professional managerial staff to join the workers in doing labor, to continuously remold their world outlook and reshape their thinking and sentiments. If they sit only in the office and wait, they can hardly integrate with the workers all their lives. When they change their ways of thinking, seriously work, study and live with the workers and learn from them and deepen their feeling toward the workers, they will work amicably with the workers to promote technical innovation. In this way, many long-standing, big and difficult problems will be solved. In the case of folding stools produced by the No. 7 workshop, installation of metalwork required placing six stool rings, and the operating work was quite troublesome. The worker managerial staff responsible for technical quality had long ago proposed to improve this technical process. But as our cadres stuck to their seats and seldom took part in labor, they did not share the thinking of the masses and stalled the proposal for a long time. Later, a leading comrade in charge of technical work in the plant came to this workshop to work for a period. He accepted the opinions of the worker masses and had the innovation effected quickly. This reduced labor intensity, raised work efficiency, and saved raw material. In the case of stool rings alone, more than one ton of steel can be saved a year.

To insure effective professional-mass integration, we have also continuously abolished old enterprise management systems and methods and established a number of new systems and methods to facilitate worker participation in enterprise management. For instance, organizationally, workers are made heads of worker management groups at the plant and workshop levels, and responsible persons of related technical sections and offices and related managerial personnel of workshops are made deputy heads. So far as the work system is concerned, professional managerial personnel are required to report on a regular basis to related worker management groups and develop democracy on all matters. They must on their own initiative consult the workers, humbly listen to the opinions of the masses, and provide the needed professional guidance to the worker managerial staff. While fulfilling their production tasks within the 8 hours,worker managerial staff are required to take an active part in various aspects of management. This has led to the formation of democratic management throughout the plant characterized by centralization and unity and integration between professional and mass management and given expression to the new socialist relationship between cadres and workers.

In the course of integrating professional and mass management, certain differences of opinion are inevitable between the professional and mass managerial staff. When solving such contradictions, we do not adopt the simple method of who orders whom. Instead, leading cadres and professional managerial staff should get together with the mass managerial personnel to hold adequate discussion, whereby the views of one and all are unified on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Opinions that conform to Mao's revolutionary line are accepted and acted upon.

In the matter of worker participation in management, our plant has done some work and achieved some good results. But the struggle is not over. If we do not read and study seriously nor grasp the remolding of our world outlook, then we are liable to make mistakes. In this connection, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, has taught us a lesson by negative example. He regarded this new thing--worker participation in management--as a thorn in the flesh and tried his best to undermine it. He slanderously accused worker participation in management of causing "confusion" in enterprises, babbling that "reliance on workers, peasants and soldiers is relative," and clamoring that it was necessary to exercise "more rigid" control over the workers. His criminal aim was to exercise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the worker masses in the enterprise, change the socialist nature of the enterprise and restore capitalism. We must continue to deepen our criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, take class struggle as the key link, uphold the Party's basic line, further raise our awareness of whole-heartedly relying on the working class, and make our enterprise continue to advance in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao.

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Great Prospects for Collective Pig Raising

- Investigation of Hsiaoyehyüan Production Team Lihsin County, Anhwei

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

Hsiaoyehyüan is a team with only 18 households. Under the impetus of the great cultural revolution and during the movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture, they take class struggle as the key link, keep to the basic line of the Party, correctly carry out its principles and policies and adopt effective measures. Within a short period of four years, pig raising has developed immensely. At the moment, the number of live pigs in feeding is 627 head (among them 577 are raised collectively), averaging 34.8 head per household, 9.9 head per person and 4.3 head per mow. The increase in the number of pigs has brought about an increase in the supply of manure and grain, more contributions to the state, more reserves, and more machines. This has changed the production conditions and spurred the growth of collective production. In 1975, the average grain output reached 1,076 catties per mow, and the unit area output of wheat this year reaches 756 catties. In the last two or three years more farming machines such as tractors, diesel engines, threshing and pulverizing machines and oil extracting machines were purchased. Moreover, some 190,000 fish were bred collectively. Public accumulation has continued to rise, and the livelihood of commune members has improved year by year.

Before the great cultural revolution Hsiaoyehyüan was a poor team. In those days, due to the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line and trouble created by the class enemy, people were rather confused, the land was left barren, and production was low. Every year grain had to be bought back from the state. Some moved out. Out of the 27 households only 18 remained. However, the poor and lower-middle peasants here were not scared off by hardships. They vehemently criticized revisionism and capitalism during the great cultural revolution, hit back at the class enemy's subversive activities, elected a new leading group, mobilized the socialist initiative of the masses, and perseveringly took the socialist road. To expand the socialist collective economy, beginning with 1972, they decided to develop collective pig breeding.

But the team had no cash to buy pigs. So they managed to buy a sow on credit, and in the same year the sow gave birth to 30 piggies. Then a few cadres and commune members, fearing that the problem of feeds would be too difficult to solve and difficulties might be encountered in building pig pens and in preventing diseases and plagues, objected to breeding so many. A well-to-do middle peasant said, "Just as government buildings leak and government horses are skinny, pigs collectively raised won't grow fat." In view of this state of affairs, the team Party committee organized the masses to seriously study Chairman Mao's directive concerning developing pig breeding, hold debate on "Breed pigs for whom?" and "Why raise them?" and criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. This made everyone fully aware of the dialectical relationship between more pigs, more manure and more grain. It was fully recognized that to develop agriculture, it was necessary to develop pig raising energetically.

Understanding was thus heightened and thinking unified. With the strong support of the Party committee at the higher level, they dashed through storms and waves and developed pig raising on an increasing scale. In 1975, the number of live pigs raised was 12.4 times that of 1972.

Collective pig raising is not only fast in speed, but also correct in orientation. But on this issue, the struggle between the two classes and two roads is very acute indeed. Class enemies and the bourgeoisie in the Party oppose and sabotage collective pig raising. The commune members have the desire to develop it, but many do not have the habit of raising pigs collectively. Some with rather serious spontaneous capitalist tendencies even greatly resent collective pig raising. In the course of developing pig raising, Hsiaoyehyüan has from the start taken class struggle as the key link, changed the old traditional habits, insisted on public breeding as the main thing, and encouraged the commune members to raise private pigs. As a result, the number of collectively raised pigs has all the time accounted for over 90 percent of the total. Since 1973, they have sold to the state 383 fat pigs, without slaughtering one privately. And they used most of the proceeds of 45,270 yuan for developing collective production, thereby spurring the collective economy.

People are the decisive factor for such rapid growth of collective pig raising at Hsiaoyehyüan. Chairman Mao points out: "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, any miracle can be performed on earth." To strengthen leadership over pig raising, Hsiaoyehyüan team set up a livestock leading unit composed of cadres, representatives of commune members and breeders, and selected those educated youths and poor and lower-middle peasants with good political thought, ardent love for the collective and pig raising to form a breeders group. Political and ideological education is constantly stepped up among breeders. Every evening they study politics and technical skills. They are urged to feed pigs intensively, cherish the pig farms and the pigs, work diligently, and not to be afraid of dirt and hardships. A force of red and expert breeders has been gradually formed. An educated youth who returned to the countryside gave up the chance of going to a university and devoted himself to pig raising. In the cold winter months, he held the weak piglets born by the sow in his arms to keep them alive. The commune members said: "With such a good breeder, pigs will be well bred indeed."

In the case of preventing and curing pig diseases, breeders not only guard against plagues but are also barefoot veterinary surgeons. They not only raise pigs well, but can also prevent plagues and cure diseases. While relying mainly on herb medicine, they also adopt the method of regulating the diet, thus skillfully preventing and curing pig diseases. Over the past years, no pig has ever died of sickness, and all pigs have grown healthily.

Hsiaoyehyüan has a total of 145 mow of arable land, each mow accommodating 4-5 pigs. Where do feeds come from? They use indigenous methods and raise pigs in a poor way. When collective pig raising began, everyone wished to raise them well. However, after a great amount of high quality feeds was used, the pigs did not grow as fast as expected. Subsequently, the team Party committee organized the cadres and masses to study Chairman Mao's directive "The problem of pig feeds can be solved easily. Certain

green grass, leaves, sweet potato vines and sweet potatoes can be used for feeds. It is not necessary to use high quality feeds; especially it is not necessary to use a large amount of high quality feeds." Experiences were summarized and the truth was hit home that to raise more pigs, it was imperative to collect on a large scale green coarse fodder and raise pigs in a poor way. They use locally available material, make unified arrangements and solve the problem of fodder by the five methods of "breeding, planting, picking, storing, and processing." Breeding means fully utilizing ditches, ponds and water bodies for breeding lotus, water groundnuts and water gourds. Planting means growing green fodder in front of and behind houses, beside ditches and roads, in addition to setting up an 8-mow green fodder base and utilizing 20 mow of winter fallow fields to grow fodder, so that supply of green fodder is uninterrupted for all seasons. Picking means mobilizing the commune members to cut wild grass, dig wild plants,collect weeds and pick tree leaves. Storing means storing up stalks of farm crops, bean leaves and pods and rice bran. Processing means collecting various kinds of green fodder for making paste, pulverizing, fermenting or converting them into salinized or carbohydratized feeds. With green and coarse fodder in place of fine feeds, a large amount of grain has been saved. Compared with 1972, the cost of pig raising has dropped by 60 percent.

They run the business by hard work and ask for no help. When they did not have pig pens, they built them with their own hands. Broken wheels and ruined cart planks were used for pen doors. Even now, there are the same crude pens. They do not like to be extravagant and make those modern things which are unsuitable. They deeply realize that only by raising pigs in a poor way is it possible to develop agriculture and livestock breeding with greater, faster, better and more economical results. In the past, some feared that pigs might consume the grain for man; now they understand that pig raising does not waste any grain but increase its output. They say: "Pig pens are fertilizer plants, small granaries, and small banks."

Chairman Mao points out: "Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry are interdependent, and none is dispensable. It is necessary to place the three on the same footing." The cadres and masses of Hsiaoyehyüan are consciously developing pig raising according to this directive of Chairman Mao's.

--Joint Investigation Team of CCP Anhwei Provincial Committee and CCP Lihsin County Committee

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Persistently Continue the Revolution, Gradually Narrow the Differences

- Investigation of Alati Brigade, Yungchi County, Kirin

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

During the upsurge of the agricultural cooperation movement, the great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "Just as every day, every hour, there are new developments in the cities in the cause of socialism, so it is in the countryside." ("Preface to Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside") Today, with the socialist revolution developing in depth, China's vast countryside is bustling with increasing vigor and new things are evident everywhere. An outstanding typical case is seen in the development and changes of Alati Brigade.

Located on the bank of the Sungari River, Alati Brigade is one of Korean nationality, with six production teams, 360 households, a population of 2,054 people and an arable acreage of 5,700 mow. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution began, capitalist things have been greatly weakened and new socialist things have grown continuously. The socialist consciousness of the commune members keeps rising, the relations between cadres and commune members have become much closer, the collective economy has grown with each passing day, and the gaps between the rich and the poor have been gradually narrowed. Its grain output has increased by a big margin. Over the past ten years, grain output exceeded "Program" target in two years, crossed the "Yellow River" in two, and crossed the "Yangtze River" in six. Last year's average per-mow yield was 926 catties, with each person selling to the state 1,669 catties of grain. Public accumulation rose from 200,000 yuan before the cultural revolution to 1.8 million yuan. Before the cultural revolution, there was only a small iron furnace here; now a farm tool plant, a machine-made brick plant, a cement-tile plant, a chemical fertilizer plant, and a mill of diversified undertakings have come into being. The brigade has three trucks and 37 farm machines including tractors, transplanters and threshers. Mechanization has been basically realized. The income of commune members keeps increasing every year, and life is getting better and better. In today's Alati, people are in high spirits, villages have put on a new appearance. A beautiful picture of a prosperous new socialist countryside strikes one's eyes.

The chief reason why Alati Brigade has been able to make such a big stride along the socilaist road is that it has continued to criticize the revisionist line and adopted effective measures to restrict bourgeois rights to gradually narrow the differences and bring into full play the socialist enthusiasm of the masses since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Teng Hsiaop'ing said: "To restrict bourgeois rights, we must also have a material base. Without such a base, how can we restrict?" The development and changes in Alati brigade forcefully disprove this fallacy. Facts show that it is not true, as Teng Hsiao-p'ing claimed, that bourgeois rights could be restricted only with a material base, but that only restriction of bourgeois rights will make the consolidation and development of the socialist material base possible. Teng's aim of fabricating this fallacy is to oppose restriction of bourgeois rights in a vain attempt to disintegrate the socialist economic base and restore capitalism.

The cadres of this brigade used to think that with the socialist transformation of agriculture basically completed and the means of production collectivized, common affluence could be achieved if only production were properly developed and distribution according to work practiced. But the fact is not so. After the means of production is collectivized, many differences still exist. Some teams are rich, others have to borrow money from the state. Some commune members have more manpower, higher income and a higher living standard, while others find it hard to make ends meet. And certain inequalities exist between cadres and commune members. How are we to deal with these gaps? They feel that to achieve communism and eliminate the three major differences, these gaps confronting them must not be widened at all. If they were, the history of the old society in which "one family is rich and a thousand families poor" would repeat itself, and capitalism would be revived. Therefore, since the start of the cultural revolution, they have resolved to gradually narrow the differences.

Proceeding from the actual conditions in their brigade, they have not only seriously implemented the principle of "to each according to his work," but also paid attention to taking a number of steps to narrow the differences. First of all, on the basis of developing production, they have increased public accumulation and developed collective welfare services. Bearing the development of production in mind, they have appropriately raised the percentage of the brigade's earnings for retention. While guaranteeing extended reproduction, they have used public funds to build a cooperative medical center offering X-ray service and laboratory tests, performing simple surgical operations and having a ward for general patients and a maternity ward. They have also set up a kindergarten and a ten-year school. When commune members seek medical treatment, women stay in hospital for child-birth and children go to the kindergarten or school, basically there are no charges. In addition, they have built 79 brick houses for commune members. One-third of the commune members have moved into new houses, paying only a small rent each year. Second, differences in work points and grades have been appropriately reduced. Third, manpower has been rationally arranged, so that everyone has a job and income. For example, those commune members who are physically feeble or cripled are assigned service work to take the place of those who are physically strong, and they are given a certain income. Fourth, attention has been given to solving the problems of poor households. The adoption of these measures has narrowed the gaps in wealth between commune members,reduced the number of financially troubled households, and enabled debtor households to pay off their debts. Over 75 percent of the commune members have bank deposits. All of this fully demonstrates the superiority of the socialist system. The commune members "see their great future ahead" more clearly. ("Preface to Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside")

Following the development of brigade-run enterprises, the number of non-agricultural production personnel have gradually increased and new changes have taken place in the division of work among commune members. Under these circumstances, how to prevent a new polarization becomes a very important problem. Influenced by the force of habit, some people in the brigade-run enterprises often compare themselves with state-owned enterprises in terms of pay and treatment, and demand that they should be paid more than commune members engaged in farm labor. The leading group of the brigade holds that as our ultimate goal in the future is the abolition of the three major differences, if the gaps were widened with the development of the enterprises,

that would be a regressive , not a progressive step. They say: "The division of labor among commune members has changed, but the socialist orientation cannot change. The collective undertakings have developed, but the gaps must not be widened." Following repeated discussion by the commune members, it was ruled that: One, personnel of enterprises should be paid in work points and their performance evaluated in the same manner as other commune members, and the work-point standard in general should not exceed that for similar grades of labor power. Those whose work requires higher technical skills and greater labor intensity are to be given a fixed amount of subsidy. Working hours should also be the same as commune members engaged in agricultural labor. Two, the part-work,part-farming system should be practiced, with workers on the bench doing farming in the fields and those doing mental labor taking part in manual labor. Doctors, nurses, school teachers and the brigade's accountants, cashiers and broadcasters all take part in farm labor. Factory workers should do industrial work during slack farming season and farm work during busy farming seasons. Truck drivers also work in the fields after returning from their trips. The commune members call them truck drivers as well as "ox-cart drivers." Three, a system of duty rotation between enterprises personnel and commune members at the first line of agriculture should be introduced. After one or two years, a part of enterprise personnel should go back to production teams to become commune members, while another part of commune members should be transferred to the enterprises. In recent years, among the more than 140 people working in the enterprises of the brigade, 34 people including truck drivers, tractor drivers, workers, medical workers and school teachers have been replaced. The adoption of these measures has not only prevented non-agricultural production personnel from having a feeling of superiority due to division of work, but has also helped bring up a group of socialist new-type peasants capable of performing physical as well as mental labor and who are both workers and peasants. At present, they have three trucks, seven drivers, four large tractors and 12 tractor operators.

The cadres of this brigade continue to rid their minds of the idea of bourgeois rights and persevere in working, studying and living with the commune members. They know that they are cadres as well as ordinary commune members, and that if they separate themselves from the masses, they will evolve into new bourgeois elements. Here there was a cadre who used to share the weal and woe with the commune members and became one with them. Later, having the idea of being the privileged, he ceased taking part in collective productive labor, slowly degenerated and was eventually driven down the stage by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Keeping this lesson in mind, they have persevered in taking part in collective productive labor. They labor in the daytime and do their administrative work in the evening. They always rise earlier and go to bed later than the commune membeers. When it rains at night the brigade cadres would, armed with picks, go to the fields to watch the level of water. During New Year's Day and other festivals, they would go separately to the livestock farms and mills for diversified undertakings to relieve the commune members so the latter may go home to rest. Chin Lung-chiu, secretary of the brigade Party general branch, is in his sixties and is poor in health. But he has all along taken the lead in battling at the first line of production. Once, while sick, he went to the fields to transplant seedlings, when he collapsed by a pond. The commune members carried

him to the health clinic. When he came to, he went back to the fields and worked like the other commune members. Some people said to him: "You aren't young and you are weak. Yon'd better rest." He replied: "I've bought a communist ticket, and I can't get off when I arrive at socialism." Every year the commune members propose to give the brigade cadres work points for first-grade labor, but they insist on being paid for the middle grade.

The cadres of this brigade are content to serve as servants of the poor and lower-middle peasants. They do not abuse their power for personal gain, and they do not claim any special privileges. They say: "A cadre has only the obligation to serve the people, but no right to use his power to seek personal gain." When it comes to distribution of grain, firewood and feeds in the brigade, they receive the same treatment as other commune members. Over the past years, the brigade has recommended a dozen young people for entry into college, but none of them is the child of a brigade cadre. The many new houses built by the collective were first allocated to dependents of armymen and martyrs, households in need of help, old poor peasants and commune members with large families. Of the 13 leading members of the brigade, only one has moved into a new house, and that is because she is the dependent of a martyr and her old house leaked. The rest live in old straw huts. Chin Lung-chiu is a demobilized armyman, having a large family in a small house, and his son is getting married. Logically he is entitled to a new house. But every time he was offered a new house, he refused. He said: "Our brigade has 360 households. Put me last to receive a house."

The most basic reason that Alati brigade has persevered in continuing the revolution and gradually narrowed the differences is that they have conscientiously studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and have the guidance of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. The political evening school of the brigade has been run with increasingly good results since the start of the cultural revolution. There are classes for old, able-bodied and young men as well as for women. There are two study sessions per week, and both politics and culture are studied. Classes have never been interrupted in busy or slack farm seasons, rain or shine. There is the general realization that if one doesn't study revolutionary theory, one cannot speak or act correctly. That is why they have become more and more interested in study. The commune members of the brigade have generally studied the five philosophic works by Chairman Mao and Marxist-Leninist works including "Critique of the Gotha Program," "The State and Revolution" and "A Great Beginning." The cadres have done even better; since the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship began last year, they have further grasped what bourgeois rights are, why and how to restrict them. In the course of work, they have better overcome blindness and enhanced their initiative. They study with the reality in mind and in a lively way. In the factories run by the brigade, some skilled workers always feel that they should get more work points and pay as they have skills and the work they do is more valuable than that of others. In view of this problem, the brigade general Party branch has organized everyone to study the statement made by Engel in Anti-Duhring. He said: "In a society organized according to socialist principles," the

"expenses" for technical study "are borne by society, and so the fruit of complex labor, that is, the greater part of value,also belongs to society." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. III, p. 241) How does one acquire one's skills? Skills are not a birth right but are acquired through training at the cost of the collective. One who has skills should make more contributions to socialism, and should not regard them as private property and bargain with the collective. Their awareness enhanced through study, people have shown more enthusiasm in building socialism.

Chairman Mao says: "Without struggle, there is no progress." The continuous progress gained by Alati Brigade on the socialist road is also the outcome of struggle. The restriction of bourgeois rights and the gradual reduction of differences is not simply a question of adopting some measures, but involves an acute struggle between the two classes, two lines and the two ideologies. Persevering in taking class struggle as the key link and continuing to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie, they put political and ideological work in the fore. Citing both positive and negative examples in the brigade, they deeply criticize the revisionist line to acquaint everyone with the advantages of narrowing the differences and the harm of widening them. After the land reform, influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line of "four big freedoms," a well-to-do peasant quickly became a new rich peasant by lending money and hiring labor. Some large households with little labor power found it hard to make ends meet and had to sell their land and farm for others; they were subject to exploitation. It was seen clearly that when the gaps widened to a certain extent, polarization would occur. The commune members said: In the old society we were all class brothers suffering from exploitation; today we cannot permit the formation of mercenary relations again. Their awareness raised, they all energetically supported narrowing the differences and increasing public accumulation. Some households on their own initiative deposit their spare money with the brigade to be used for extended reproduction and setting up collective welfare undertakings.

With a view to gradually narrowing the differences and marching toward the communist goal, they also positively "expand the propagation of communist ideology" ("On New Democracy") and promote the communist attitude toward labor. Through setting up advanced models and commending good people and good deeds, they vigorously create revolutionary public opinion, showing fervent love to the collective and not being particular about pay becomes a general practice. The cadres and commune members conscientiously "work in a revolutionary way." ("A Great Beginning," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 2) An old blacksmith of the farm tool plant often works into mid-night and never bothers about pay. Even when his clothes were damaged during work, he didn't ask the brigade for compensation. Some people said: "A blacksmith who does more work should be given more work points." He said: "Others till the land, I forge iron. We are all commune members, and why should I be given more?" Some women commune members use their rest hours to wash the plastic sheets that had been used for breeding seedlings. Young people voluntarily go to repair roads, plant trees and perform labor without pay. New people wholeheartedly working for the state and the collective can be seen everywhere.

During the struggle to penetratingly criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, this brigade, summing up its practical experience, has realized that restricting bourgeois rights is a task for the entire historical period of socialism. They are determined, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, to thoroughly sweep away the soil breeding capitalism and continue to work still harder.

- Joint Investigation Team of CCP Kirin Provincial Committee, CCP Kirin Municipal Committee, and CCP Yungchi County Committee

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Be a Promoter of Restricting Bourgeois Rights

by

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(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

The great struggle started and led by Chairman Mao himself to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts has resulted in penetrating criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, enabling us to further understand the connection between the bourgeoisie in the Party and bourgeois rights and to see more clearly the reactionary essence of the chieftains of revisionist lines in protecting and expanding bourgeois rights. In light of past and present struggles between the two classes, two roads and two lines and of my own thinking, I have seriously studied a series of important directives laid down by Chairman Mao during the great cultural revolution and in the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and come to the profound realization that a Communist Party member, particularly a leading Party cadre, must persist untiringly in criticizing bourgeois rights and strive to become a promoter of restricting bourgeois rights and reducing the three major differences.

I was originally a Party branch secretary of a rural production brigade. It is only in the past few years that I have taken up a leading post on the county Party committee, becoming its secretary in 1974. A leading county cadre after all has a higher position and greater power than a grassroots cadre. Under these circumstances, should I still continue to identify myself with the poor and lower-middle peasants and preserve the colors of the laboring people? I gave a lot of thought to this important question that concerns whether it is necessary to persist in continuing the revolution. Recalling the history from agricultural cooperativization to the great proletarian cultural revolution, I saw with my own eyes how divisions occurred within the Party and the revolutionary ranks in the course of continuous deepening of the socialist revolution. The vast numbers of Party members and cadres, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, continued to make revolution and march on the big socialist path together with the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants. However, there was a small number of people who stood still and ceased to advance or even embarked on the capitalist road. They have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants--persons whom the masses criticize. Why? Basically speaking, these people practice revisionism instead of Marxism. They try their utmost to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, safeguard and extend bourgeois rights, and alienate themselves more and more from the masses, with the result that they find themselves in a state of sharp class struggle with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois rights. We ourselves have built just such a state, not much different from the old society; there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values." This important instruction of Chairman Mao's profoundly reveals the essence of

bourgeois rights as the division of ranks and grades, a system under which inequality is practiced under the slogan of equality. A leading cadre, in order to persist in continuing revolution and keep abreast with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, must consciously restrict bourgeois rights, repudiate the mistaken notion that he is higher than the masses, and in no way assume that he is wiser than the masses all the time and draw a line of distinction with the masses. Hence, after I took up the leading post on the county Party committee, I gave myself "a three-point code": 1) to retain my rural residential status; 2) to take my pay in work points for farm work; and 3) to receive the same grain ration as other peasants. At the same time, I have striven to see to it that although my job has changed, I do not change the color of an ordinary laborer, that although my position is higher, I do not abandon the tradition of keeping in close touch with the masses, and that although I have greater power, I do not forget the aim of working for the well-being of the vast majority of people.

I feel that there are a number of advantages for a leading cadre to insist on having the same treatment as the poor and lower-middle peasants. First, my own revolutionization is facilitated. When I identify myself with the poor and lower-middle peasants, practice three togetherness with them and do not differ from them in clothing, food, lodging and transport, they will not keep away from me but take me for their bosom friend. This enables me to keep in close touch with the masses and prevents myself from being contaminated by the dust of bureaucratism. Second, I can better carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and do well in various fields of work. After living at the grassroots level for a long time, I lack experience in leadership work. When I do not separate myself from the poor and lower-middle peasants, they naturally trust me, confide in me, seek my advice when they have difficulties, and point out my shortcomings in work. That makes my ears and eyes sharper and enables me to do my job better.

On the question of dealing with bourgeois rights, there has always been a struggle between the two classes, two lines and two ways of thinking. This is not only because those revisionist chieftains like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing protect bourgeois rights as the root of their lives and resent any mention of restricting bourgeois rights, but also because the exploiting-class prejudices and bourgeois ideas have for a long time exerted a considerable influence on a number of people. To restrict bourgeois rights, we must therefore fight against the bourgeoisie inside the Party and against the old traditional concepts. After I became the county Party committee secretary, I refused to take wages but received work points in the same manner as other commune members. The Party and the people commended me for doing so, and some poor and lower-middle peasants said with joy: "Lien-sheng is our own man, no matter how big he has become a cadre!" "Becoming a county Party committee secretary and yet still receiving pay in work points really makes an 'official' look like anything but an official!" I felt this was encouragement and education to me as well as vigorous support for new socialist things.

However, some people do not quite understand my action. They believe that it is something rational for a county Party committee secretary to draw wages instead of work points. I always feel that this is a wrong approach. Being a peasant myself, even if I have become a bigger "official," I cannot

differ from the poor and lower-middle peasants, and only this is rational. In a class society, rationality has always been of a class character. The proletariat has its own rationality and the bourgeoisie has its own. The rationalities of these two classes cannot be mixed up. In the view of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, a high official must draw a fat salary and promotion means reaping a fortune; this is something natural and rational. That is why they always dream of becoming big officials and high salaries, lording it over the laboring people and taking such ugly notions as their philosophy of life. From the county magistrate of the feudal landlord class to the county chief of the Kuomintang, didn't they all follow this credo? We Communists are different, and we talk about Marxist rationality and working for the well-being of the vast majority of people. Chairman Mao says: "All our working cadres, whatever their positions, are the servants of the people, and all that we do is in the service of the people." ("The Tasks of 1945") A leading cadre should become a model in doing more work and getting less remuneration; on no account must he bargain for position and pay, let alone pursue promotion and high emolument. In the past, our Party and the army it led did not have any salary system nor ranks or grades, let alone rich material rewards. "In addition to grain, each man receives only five cents a day for cooking oil, salt, firewood and vegetables, and even this is hard to keep up. ("The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains") However, under Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership, we defeated Japanese imperialism, overthrew the Chiang family dynasty, and won the victory of the new democratic revolution. Today, to achieve the great objective of building socialism and realizing communism, we have only the duty to make more contributions to the revolution and no right to ask the people for more pay. I feel that it is something very glorious and fortunate to become a "work-point secretary" whose hands are callous, whose feet are stained with mud, who toils in the fields and who places himself among the masses. Even to this day some people still feel that an official is entitled to rich material rewards, and this shows that they have not liberated themselves from the decadent concepts of the exploiting class and their vision has not gone beyond the limit of bourgeois rights. It is therefore not surprising that they do not understand the revolutionary action of restricting bourgeois rights.

Due to the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society, some people who are influenced by the idea of bourgeois rights always proceed from the concept of ranks and grades and often accord "consideration" and "preferential treatment" to leading cadres. Sometimes, in the name of "caring for the life of leaders," they present leading cadres with gifts of food and clothing and other articles of consumption. At other times, in name of "caring for the future of their children," they intentionally create various favorable conditions in regard to employment and student recruitment for children of leading cadres to go to factories or colleges. Some comrades are happy about this and even search for such "consideration" and "preferential treatment." But I feel that as a leading cadre, one must constantly be alert against the corrosion of bourgeois rights. Not long after I became the county Party committee secretary, I was involved in the following incident. At the time of military conscription in the fall of 1974, the higher-ups gave our county a quota of three women soldiers. When discussing this question, the related county department asked the brigade to which I formerly belonged to supply one woman soldier. The purpose was to enable my elder daughter to join the army. When I learned about this, I became rather uneasy. I then rushed back home and worked on my daughter. I told her: "There are thousands of young people in the county eligible for military

service, and many are more qualified than you. Why did they choose you? Isn't it still because your father is the county Party committee secretary? If we were at war, I would be the first to send you to the army. Now the quota is too small and everybody wants to go. As the daughter of a cadre, you must make strict demands on yourself and mustn't have the slightest idea of being the privileged." After such persuasion, my daughter accepted my opinion happily and decided to strike root in the countryside to make revolution. Last year, she was recommended by the poor and lower-middle peasants for admission into Tantung Communist Labor University which practices the "from the commune and back to the commune" system. I often hear some people say: "They bring us the gifts out of genuine friendship, and it is very hard to turn them away. Even the court won't punish such people!" People with such ideas always take an overly simplified view of the complex class struggle, failing to see that behind superficial friendship hides the attack of bourgeois sugar-coated bullets. To practice flattery with bourgeois rights is a means used by the bourgeoisie to wage struggle against the proletariat during the socialist period. And people who accept such gifts often find it embarrassing to speak out. If one accepts more of such "offers of friendship," one will fall into the trap and go down in defeat after being flattered by bourgeois rights. We revolutionary cadres are the servants of the people, not bureaucrats of the exploiting class, and we firmly reject such things as bourgeois "friendship" and "gifts," and it is only by doing so that the fine style of work of the proletariat can be developed and promoted within our revolutionary ranks.

Some people believe that while it is easy to speak of restricting bourgeois rights, once you yourself come under fire, you become worried. "You can't accuse yourself," they say. Actually this is not the case. I feel that the most important thing in restricting bourgeois rights is to have the leaders, particularly principal leading cadres, to take the lead to set the example. If we are worried about anything, it is that leaders will not take the lead. Once leaders take the lead, things can be done well. Once you raise your consciousness of restricting bourgeois rights, you will be able to correct yourself. The course I have gone through in restricting bourgeois rights is also a process of continuously correcting my bourgeois ideas with proletarian ideas. A leading cadre must not be satisfied only with himself being honest and "uncorrupt," but must lead a group of people to become good promoters of restricting bourgeois rights and use their own actual action to gradually wipe out the old soil breeding the bourgeoisie. Since the initiation last year of the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, we "a group of people" on the county Party committee have continued to enhance our consciousness of restricting bourgeois rights and have, by concrete action, broken with the concept of bourgeois rights. Together with other leading members of the county Party committee, I led the masses to criticize revisionism and capitalism in a big way and finally eliminate the evil practice of sabotaging the forest resources that had existed for a long time. In addition, in view of such cases as forcible occupation of public houses and embezzlement of large amounts of public funds among city and town cadres, we launched continuous attack on capitalist tendencies. As a result, the bourgeois evil wind has greatly declined while the righteous spirit of the proletariat has soared.

With the leaders mobilizing the masses, revolution has promoted production. Last year's per-mow output of grain in the county was 550 catties and crossed the "Yellow River" for the first time. The county has since ceased to buy back grain from the state, a practice which had existed for a long time. Our efforts with respect to restricting bourgeois rights are still far from sufficient and continued efforts must be made. I am resolved to study harder Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, continue to raise my consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, firmly support new socialist things and dedicate my life to the cause of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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A Program for Capitalist Restoration in the Scientific and Technological Field

- Comment on "Outline Report on the Work of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS)"

by

the Mass Criticism Group of the Chinese Academy of Sciences

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

When vigorously stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts last year, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, dished out a revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." In order to implement in an all-round way this program for capitalist restoration, he concocted a series of reactionary documents. The big poisonous weed "General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country" was aimed at directly propagating this reactionary program of "taking the three directives as the key link," and "Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry" represented an attempt to push "taking the three directives as the key link" and restore capitalism in the economic sphere. At the same time, Teng Hsiao-p'ing directly presided over the formulation of "Outline Report on the Work of the CAS," a program for pushing "taking the three directives as the key link" and restoring capitalism in the scientific and technological sphere. Teng Hsiao-p'ing himself confessed: "This is a very important document not only for the CAS, but also for the entire scientific and technological field, the educational and other circles." These few words bare his reactionary objective of all-round capitalist restoration from the scientific and technological field to the "entire" ideological and cultural domain by promoting this "Outline." This fully shows the important role the "Outline" plays in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's criminal activities to restore capitalism with a program and public opinion and in an organized and planned way.

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out sharply: "What 'taking the three directives as the key link!' stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." He said of Teng Hsiao-p'ing: "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of 'white cat, black cat,' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." Chairman Mao's instruction dealt a fatal blow to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and to the "Outline" concocted under his direction. Although the "Outline" was revised five or six times in an effort to "smooth the edges and preserve the principle" and to give it more "theoretical color," that is, make it more deceptive, we need only to analyze it with the Marxist viewpoint of class struggle to see that it vigorously advertises the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces and that running through it is a sinister revisionist line opposing taking class struggle as the key link, tampering with the Party's basic line and negating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the process of concocting the "Outline," Teng Hsiao-p'ing "directed": "In the country, scientific research must lead the way." This was written faithfully into the "Outline." Dwelling on the "orientation" of scientific research work at the beginning it made no mention at all of the dictatorship of the proletariat or of the socialist road. Instead, it repeatedly discussed in isolation the so-called "four modernizations," and among the "four modernizations," modernization of science and technology was elevated to the decisive position. It said that "without a leap forward in science and technology, it will be difficult to achieve" the grand goal which is to be reached by two stages, and therefore "scientific research must lead the way." It also said that "the rapid development of the petroleum industry has testified to this." Here is a major question of right and wrong concerning the line: Is it class struggle that spurs social development, or is it science and technology that decides everything? Should we give top priority to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and adhering to the socialist road, or should we place the so-called "four modernizations" above all else?

The basic program of our Party is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and the ultimate realization of communism. It reflects the basic orientation of the development of socialist society. The realization of "four modernizations" is subordinate to this basic orientation. "Modernization" that diverges from this basic orientation can only lead to the capitalist road. "Revolution is the locomotive of history." (Marx, "Class Struggle in France, 1848-1850," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. I, p. 461) This well-known Marxist thesis has graphically and profoundly answered the question of what should "lead the way." In class society, the development of class struggle spurs the development of society as a whole, including production and science and technology. The practice of our country in socialist revolution and construction proves that when the proletariat wages a successful struggle against the bourgeoisie, production and science will leap forward continuously. Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his "Outline," in advocating "scientific research must lead the way," wanted to take scientific research instead of class struggle as the "locomotive of history." This fallacy of "technology decides everything" and "science is supreme" is an out-and-out theory of productive forces. The "Outline" attributes the "rapid development of the petroleum industry" to scientific research "leading the way," which means using the theory of productive forces to negate the significance of "learning from Tach'ing in industry" and completely distorting the basic experience of the Tach'ing workers in starting with the "two-point theory," adhering to the Party's basic line, persisting in taking class struggle as the key link, grasping revolution and promoting production. Of course, a series of new achievements our country has scored in science and technology, including those made in geology and mechanics, has played a role in the rapid development of our petroleum industry. But, without the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the founding of New China, the deepening of the socialist revolution and the spirit of independence and self-reliance of Tach'ing's working class, how could there be "rapid development of the petroleum industry"? How could geology, mechanics and other branches of science and technology develop? How could they play a role in the search for oil? If we only recall what was done for geology and mechanics before liberation, we can convincingly answer: Without the victory of the proletarian revolution "leading the way," achievements in natural science can in no way serve the people.

Those revisionists who peddle the theory of productive forces vainly try to salvage a straw here, but they have really chosen the wrong object.

In dealing with "tasks," the "Outline" likewise casts to the winds such basic tasks as grasping class struggle and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. They cited and distorted a large number of quotations from Chairman Mao, but they failed to mention his teachings on class struggle and enforcing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the realm of the superstructure. This was by no means an accidental omission, but an attempt to rob Mao Tsetung Thought of its revolutionary soul and to lead people onto the sinister revisionist road. They negated and attacked the great proletarian cultural revolution wherever they could, but when they talked about the so-called "new situation," they did something they normally did not do. They said that after the great proletarian cultural revolution, the bourgeoisie and revisionism had been "swept away" from the "road" of scientific development. In their eyes, there is no more struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the scientific and technological front, and what are left are only things like "major scientific research," "newly emerging science and technology" and "basic sciences." This is sheer nonsense designed to deceive people. The struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines has never ceased on the scientific and technological front. The great proletarian cultural revolution has smashed the old foundations, old traditions and old ideas of the bourgeoisie and revisionism in the scientific and technological field, but "we cannot speak of final victory, not even for decades." It is in this field that there are still a large number of unreformed intellectuals, that bourgeois rights are still prevalent to a serious extent, that the old bourgeois tradition in developing science still exerts a deep influence and that idealistic and metaphysical ideas of all kinds still shackle the minds of many. Therefore, the trend of revisionist thought still has a considerable base and market, and there still exists the soil for engendering capitalism and new bourgeois elements. The bourgeoisie in the Party and the capitalist roaders who protect bourgeois scholar-tyrants and all old "fetishes" in the scientific and technological field and who try in every way to strengthen and expand bourgeois rights will still place numerous obstacles in the path of socialist revolution on the scientific and technological front. Isn't this exactly the case? The concocters of the "Outline" clamored that the day "the road is swept clean" is the moment when they frantically attack the proletariat and attempt to lead our country's science and technology onto the capitalist road. As Chairman Mao incisively pointed out, "Liu Shao-ch'i advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?" This is also true of Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Before and after he went all out to stir up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and engineered the Tienanmen Square counter-revolutionary incident, there were dark clouds and violent waves in the scientific and technological sphere. Did class struggle die out? The fallacy of "sweeping clean" once and for all as advocated by the "Outline" is nothing but a smokescreen to cover up the bourgeois attack against the proletariat. Of class struggle we must "remind ourselves every year, every month and every day," and the rubbish of

the bourgeoisie and revisionism must be swept away every year, every month and every day. It won't do to conduct one single major sweeping operation; we must sweep them away 20 to 30 times until classes disappear.

The concocters of the "Outline" preached the "peculiarity of science and technology," alleging that since the scientific and technological front was a "peculiar sphere," "slogans used in culture, education and other spheres of the superstructure cannot be applied to scientific and technological circles." It was on the basis of this "theory of peculiarity" that they blatantly advanced the anti-Party and anti-socialist "peculiar" slogan that "the scientific and technological front does not need mentioning the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is indeed "peculiar" since there is no need for the dictatorship of the proletariat! May we ask: Aren't you living in the socialist new China? Don't you put on the cloak of "Communists"? What kind of position do you want to put yourselves in if you don't need the dictatorship of the proletariat? Proceeding from this "theory of peculiarity," they also negated Marxist guidance to science and technology as well as Marxism embracing natural science. As far as they are concerned, it seems that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the theoretical basis guiding our thinking, suddenly doesn't work, and they want to free themselves from Marxism and take their own "special" road. May we ask: Without Marxism, except practicing revisionism and taking the capitalist road, what other road can you take? Marxism always attaches importance to the special features of things and the particularity of contradiction. But at the same time, it also points out that "it is precisely in the particularity of contradiction that the universality of contradiction resides." ("On Contradiction") The conditions on the scientific, literary and art, educational, health and other fronts have their own characteristics, but they share the common essence as generalized by the Party's basic line, namely, there exist classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The basic principles of Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism should likewise play a guiding role in all fields of natural science. Chairman Mao points out: "It is revisionism to negate the basic principles of Marxism and to negate its universal truth." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") "The theory of science and technology being special" is such a revisionist theory. In fact, in crying loudly about "peculiarity," these revisionists themselves have never studied the peculiar contradictions in the study of natural science. They know nothing at all about the connection between the development of natural science and the development of production, which is an important special problem. They always go against objective laws. Now can they be expected to study "special contradictions"? Deceit is their business. In crying about "special territory," they merely want to defend the monopoly of the bourgeoisie and oppose the occupation of the scientific and technological field by Marxism.

In class society, natural science always is subordinated to a definite class and serves its interests. To insure that science and technology serve the proletariat in the historical period of socialism, it is essential to persist in putting proletarian politics in command in scientific and technological work, that is, to persist in enforcing the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and to transform everything in accordance with the will of the proletariat. This requires us to constantly carry out

education in the ideological and political line and to raise the consciousness of scientific and technological workers in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. However, the "Outline" does not look at things in this way. Proceeding from the theory of the dying out of class struggle, it is frenziedly opposed to putting proletarian politics in command. It brings such charges as "opposition to vocational research" against political work, saying that "if our political work deprives scientists and technicians of the courage to study technology, foreign languages and read vocational books, then political work is a failure." It even uses the malicious words used by Teng Hsiao-p'ing formerly to vilify the study of Chairman Mao's works by the masses, slanders our political and ideological work as "exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies," and threatens to "chop it off."

Marxism holds that the relationship between politics and vocational work is one of the unity of opposites. Politics is the commander, and the soul. "Having no correct political viewpoint amounts to having no soul." When a person ignores politics, he will lose his bearings, become a captive of bourgeois ideology and make blunders. Only by opposing such a tendency can one be genuinely concerned politically for the growth and progress of scientific and technological workers. But the proletariat has never "opposed vocational research" as the "Outline" alleges. We have always encouraged scientists and technicians to strive to raise their vocational level under the command of proletarian politics. The myth of "opposition to vocational research" is fabricated by the makers of the "Outline." In so doing, their aim is to oppose proletarian politics as the commander under the pretext of developing vocational work and so put bourgeois politics in command of scientific and technological work. Superficially, Teng Hsiao-p'ing put vocational work instead of proletarian politics in command; actually, he wanted to forcibly push the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the scientific and technological field. He not only deeply resented proletarian politics, but also did his utmost to oppose "vocational research" under the command of proletarian politics. The fact that he had so much hatred for participation in scientific research by workers, peasants and soldiers, running research institutes in an open-door way and following our own road in developing science and technology independently and through our own efforts, so despised the wisdom of the working people, and had such blind faith in the science and technology of the bourgeoisie in foreign countries, illustrates his own nature. His line can only lead scientific research and scientific and technological workers into a blind alley? Isn't that clear?

Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, few people in scientific and technological circles raised the problem of "not daring to take up technical research." Why? In those days, with interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, it was "legal" for one to devote himself to vocational work for personal fame and gain. With the great proletarian cultural revolution, the revisionist road to becoming a specialist without socialist consciousness was criticized. Then many saw the danger of being immersed in vocational work and began to change their original approach. In this situation, a number of scientific and technological personnel who failed to remold themselves ideologically could no longer do what they wanted to do so freely. In this connection, there were two different cases. Some people began to realize that the road they took in the past was incorrect, but they had yet to understand in theory and practice the relationship between proletarian politics and vocational work and to really establish the

concept of going in for vocational research for the revolution. With regard to these people, if Teng Hsiaop'ing's method of doing away with proletarian politics as the commander were used to urge them to be immersed in vocational work again, would that not amount to guiding them to turn back? Another section of people still clung to the bourgeois concept that vocational work would bring personal fame, wealth and capital. When their bourgeois individualistic desire could not be satisfied, they were no longer willing to take up vocational research. So far as these people are concerned, only when proletarian politics is persistently put in command and revisionism and bourgeois individualism are deeply criticized, will they gradually transform their ideology and establish the concept of going in for vocational research for the revolution. But the opposite is done by the "Outline." What it advocates is precisely the revisionist road to becoming a specialist without socialist consciousness, which Teng Hsiao-p'ing went all out to encourage and describe as "beneficial to the Chinese People's Republic," namely, the capitalist road harmful to the masses of scientific and technological workers.

When one opposes grasping class struggle and advocates putting vocational work in command and taking the road to becoming a specialist without socialist consciousness, he naturally opposes ideological remolding by intellectuals. This is precisely the case with the "Outline." It lists some so-called "contradictions" among the intellectuals, such as contradictions between "bad tastes" and between "trifles." However, there is no contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie or between the Marxist line and the revisionist line. In this situation, is it still necessary to promote ideological transformation? If you do, they will attack you as "self-styled reformers," "talking about transformation without utilization," and "being influenced by Lin Piao's revisionist line." It is by falsifying the facts that they radically oppose the Party's policy of uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals.

What do they mean by "self-styled reformers"? Don't communists have the need to remold the world as well as themselves? Chairman Mao said long ago: "In the building of a socialist society, everybody needs remolding--the exploiters and also the working people. Who says the working class does not need it?" "All people should learn and need remolding." Don't intellectuals have the need for remolding? In fact, since the founding of the PRC, especially since the great proletarian cultural revolution began, the majority of China's scientific and technological workers have made progress in varying degrees in remolding themselves ideologically. However, "it takes a fairly long time to thoroughly remold one's world outlook." It is impossible to overcome in a short time such bourgeois ideas as divorcing oneself from proletarian politics, looking down on labor, being unwilling to identify oneself with the workers and peasants, regarding knowledge as private property, academic monopoly, the concept of grades and the idea of personal fame and wealth--ideas that they inherited from the old society. It is an even more protracted struggle to criticize idealism and metaphysics in the field of academic thought. In the current class struggle and struggle between the two lines, intellectuals may still be faced by various tests and experience ideological reversals. In such a situation, is it not entirely proper and necessary to encourage them to continue their advance and not to go backward? In opposing "self-style reformers," didn't the concocters of the "Outline" reveal themselves as self-styled anti-reformers. Opposition to transformation is a special characteristic of all

those advocating restoration and regression. This fully exposes them as a group of self-styled capitalist restorationists and revisionists who are opposed to historical progress and the progress of intellectuals. Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a capitalist roader who "knows nothing about Marxism-Leninism and represents the bourgeoisie." It is nothing strange at all that taking the stand of bourgeois intellectuals, he is opposed to the transformation of bourgeois intellectuals.

Opposing "self-styled reformers," Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted to raise the ensign of "concern" for intellectuals and "pleading" for them in order to drive a wedge between the intellectuals and the Party. More, the "Outline" makers tried to woo and corrupt the intellectuals with "promotion and emolument" and undisguisedly said that this would "make people feel they have a future." Their scheme is vicious, but it is futile. Chairman Mao points out: "The great majority of intellectuals in China are willing to make progress and transform themselves. They can be transformed." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") From their practice in the years since liberation, particularly since the start of the cultural revolution, the broad masses of intellectuals, including scientific and technical personnel, have realized that by taking the road of integration with workers and peasants, what they will gradually lose are the spiritual shackles of the bourgeoisie, and what they will gradually gain are the thinking and sentiments of the workers and peasants. To take a firm stand in class struggle in the first place and then continue to render contributions to the struggle for production and scientific experiments, it won't do not to persevere in carrying out ideological transformation. "Freedom results from knowledge of necessity and the transformation of the objective world." Only those who make continuous progress with the deepening of the socialist revolution will feel ease in mind, and that their future is bright. Intellectuals who yearn after progress are highly indignant about Teng Hsiao-p'ing's crimes in obstructing their advancement and vainly turning them into a social basis for capitalist restoration. Therefore, it is only natural that the moment the "Outline" concocted by Teng Hsiao-p'ing was released, it was criticized by the masses of scientists and technologists.

The course of cooking up this "Outline" once again proves the brilliant assertion made by our great leader Chairman Mao: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." Following the gradual development of the socialist revolution and the changes in class relations since the founding of the PRC, the capitalist roaders have gradually become the main force in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism; thus, they have also become the main target of the socialist revolution. When the bourgeois Rightists launched a frenzied attack on the proletariat in 1957, the "political designing institute" under the Chang-Lo alliance dished up an anti-Party and anti-socialist "scientific program," namely, "Several Opinions on the Question of Scientific System in Our Country." It was put forward by the bourgeois Rightists outside the Party with the covert support of the arch capitalist roaders within the Party, including Liu Shao-ch'i. Through the anti-Rightist struggle, this "scientific program" was smashed. As the bourgeoisie in society has been more and more discredited, any bourgeois program to oppose socialism which is openly put forward by them would have no appeal at all. Such a revisionist program as the

"Outline" can be brought out only with the bourgeoisie within the Party, the capitalist roaders in power in the Party, controlling the helm. Like the "scientific program" of 1957, the "Outline" represents the views of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party on restoring capitalism in the scientific and technological circles. The release of the "Outline" indicates that under the pretext of "paying attention" to science, the capitalist roaders in power formulate and push a revisionist line from the above, and pose a greater danger to the Party and the people. We must fully utilize this "Outline" as teaching material by negative example, and, while deepening the socialist revolution on the scientific and technological front, fight the capitalist roaders still harder.

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Spirit Can Be Turned into Matter

- Criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fallacy of opposing worker participation in the revolution in the superstructure

by

Party Committee of Hungch'i Shipyard, Talien

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

Will the workers' study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and their participation in the revolution in the superstructure hamper or promote the development of production? On this question, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, stirred up gusts of evil wind. In "Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry" drawn up at his bidding, this is vilified as "a long list of multiple assignments," and it is insisted that they be "called off." In Teng Hsiao-p'ing's view, workmen as such should apply themselves to production; otherwise, they will hamper the development of production.

However, facts speak louder than words. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the worker masses of our plant have followed Chairman Mao's teaching that "the workers should mainly devote themselves to work but should also learn military affairs, politics and culture, apart from carrying out the socialist education movement and criticizing the bourgeoisie." With work as their main preoccupation and learning other things as well, they engage in production while taking part in the revolution in the realm of the superstructure. We have formed worker theorist contingents to study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, unfolding different courses of theoretical study to criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism. Supplementing study and criticism, we have also set up a center for the study of philosophy and social sciences for the workers on a spare-time basis. We have published our own periodical and encouraged the workers to write articles, compile books, produce paintings and give stage performances. Moreover, backbone theorists are assigned to universities and publishing houses as part-time teachers and non-professional editors so they can contribute to the struggle to occupy the superstructure. However, this has not affected production and instead has promoted its development, bringing about vast changes to the plant. In terms of shipbuilding tonnage, the present shipyard is equivalent to nine in 1965. This means that building a 10,000-ton class vessel takes only one-ninth of the time required before the great cultural revolution. With production plans successively fulfilled ahead of schedule, the 1975 production schedule was advanced by one quarter, while the total production value and tonnage for the first half of this year surpassed previous records registered in the shipyard.

What accounts for this?

Chairman Mao points out: "It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world." ("Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?")

This instruction of Chairman Mao's profoundly reveals the dialectics of matter turning into spirit and spirit turning into matter and illustrates the importance of spirit to matter and revolutionary theory to revolutionary practice. As the scientific summation of the revolutionary practice and experience of the proletariat and the masses of the people, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought provides us with a powerful ideological weapon for knowing and transforming the world. Striving to learn and master it, the vast numbers of the worker masses fight in the various spheres of the superstructure in the posture of masters, smashing the sabotage and interference of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing and shattering the spiritual fetters imposed by the bourgeoisie. This will inevitably generate tremendous socialist enthusiasm and promote the development of production at a pace that was unattainable in the past. Spirit can turn into matter and this is the basic reason why our shipyard has continuously won fresh victories in both revolution and production.

Prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution, our ship builders, fired with the soaring enthusiasm for pushing forward the shipbuilding industry of the motherland, exerted their utmost day and night. However, there was no drastic improvement in the shipbuilding sector. We repeatedly raised this question and pondered over it. With the deepening of study and criticism, we became increasingly clear. Before the great cultural revolution, the workers were not unwilling to build ships nor were they incapable of doing so, but Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line would not let them build ships. This enfettered the workers and stifled their revolutionary enthusiasm and wisdom. Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk alleged that "building ships is not as good as buying them and buying ships is not as good as chartering them." At the time we were not allowed to produce the main engines of the ship. In 1959 when we designed and produced a 5,400-h.p. diesel engine, work was called off when we were halfway through. Thus, we built the hulls without the "heart" or main engines and as a result the shipbuilding tonnage did not go up. The workers said angrily: Shouldn't we always trail behind the foreigners and stretch out our necks to be strangled by the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries? Shouldn't we keep the door open and let them enslave us? During the great cultural revolution, we seriously studied Chairman Mao's instruction on "mainly relying on our own efforts to achieve rejuvenation, supplemented by foreign aid, breaking down superstitutions, undertaking industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently and with self-determination," and vehemently criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. With clarity of the orientation, the broad worker masses increased their confidence. Relying on their own efforts, they pooled their resources and were determined to produce the main engines to alter the passive state of the shipbuilding industry. With the line in order, man's mental outlook changed and this brought about an excellent situation in production. Production of the 8,200-h.p. diesel engine was followed by the introduction of another version of 12,000 horsepower. Test runs proved the fine quality of the products. Determined to continue the revolution, we set out to produce China's first 18,000-h.p. ultracylindrical diesel engine.

At the crucial juncture of building this main engine, Teng Hsiao-p'ing stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. He proposed what he called a "major policy" and asserted that "acceleration of the

technical transformation of industry and boosting of labor productivity" could only depend on the "introduction of foreign technology and equipment." He suggested "signing long-term contracts" with foreign countries, with foreign capitalists supplying "the latest and best equipment." According to his logic, the Chinese working class is not as good as the foreign capitalists and the development of the Chinese industry has to depend on the favors of imperialism and social-imperialism! Under the sway of this gust of evil wind, those people who opposed production of our own engines became active again. They cooked up "charges" and brought them to the above. Should we continue with production or halt? In the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, we seriously studied Chairman Mao's important instructions, studied the theory of proletarian dictatorship and criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "major policy," a policy not different from Liu Shao-ch'i's policy of worshipping things foreign and fawning on foreigners, a policy of downright national betrayal. Is it reliable to promote the development of industry with foreign aid? We experienced the tearing off of contracts by the Soviet revisionists and withdrawal of Soviet experts. We witnessed superpowers' control of small and weak nations in the name of economic "aid." If socialist states fail to achieve independence industrially, they will hardly be able to develop the socialist economy nor consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. In pushing this "major policy," Teng Hsiao-p'ing vainly tried to undermine China's socialist economy and turn our country into a colony of imperialism and social-imperialism. To reinforce the economic base of socialism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must adhere to the policy of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and achieving rejuvenation by relying on our own efforts. Repudiating Teng Hsiao-p'ing has enabled us to gain a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, that once the spirit of self-reliance is grasped by the broad worker masses, it will turn into an immense material force. With everybody contributing ideas and exploring ways and means, the first 18,000-h.p. ultracylindrical diesel engine was successfully produced amid songs of triumph in hitting back at the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. This was another victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and another example of spirit turning into matter.

Worshipping things foreign and fawning on foreigners and the slavish comprador philosophy are a set of spiritual fetters binding the hands and feet of the broad worker masses. "Direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" provides another set of spiritual fetters, stifling the initiative of the enterprises as well as the socialist enthusiasm of the worker masses. During the cultural revolution, we criticized the revisionist line of "direct and exclusive control" pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, but its pernicious influence has not been eliminated. After Teng resumed work, he willfully pushed this line, which means doing away with leadership by central and local Party committees, ignoring the aspirations and demands of the revolutionary masses, and a few people issuing orders and exercising exclusive control over enterprises. This actually means bourgeois dictatorship in the economic sphere. It was deeply resented by the worker masses. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we rebelled against "direct and exclusive control" many times. In 1973 when our plant was drawing up the production plans, the plant's Party committee mobilized all the workers and staff to explore and discuss the development needs of the shipbuilding industry and the plant's actual possibilities. On this basis, a plan envisaging

the production of an additional 15,000-ton tanker over and above the target set by the higher level was proposed. However, it was turned down. With soaring socialist enthusiasm displayed by the masses, why is it that nobody paid attention to this? Given the potentials for increased production, why is it that some people always remarked about the "weak foundation"? Why is it that some people always tried every means to prevent the enterprise and the worker masses from displaying their socialist enthusiasm? Practice in struggle enabled us to see ever more clearly that this was not a purely vocational matter and that it involved fierce class and line struggles, the question of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line or pushing the revisionist line and that of which class holds the leadership power. If those who hold the power of leadership repress and stifle the socialist enthusiasm, wishes and aspirations of the masses instead of supporting them, don't they enforce a bourgeois dictatorship? Isn't this deterimental to the cause of building socialism? Therefore, we must struggle against "direct and exclusive control." If the higher level did not approve our plan, we could proceed to do it ourselves. If raw materials were not allocated to us, we could take steps to unearth the potentialities. If auxiliary equipment were not supplied to us, we could seek help from our fraternal units. Thus, we finally surmounted every obstacle set up by "direct and exclusive control" to realize our plan for increased production. In addition, we broke the limits set in the original shipbuilding program as well as accumulating experience in achieving future leaps.

Over the past years we have struggled against "direct and exclusive control," striving to "do more things under central unified planning." In order to accelerate the tempo of shipbuilding, we disregarded the obstruction and repression by a few people and built a dry dock capable of constructing 100,000-ton vessels by relying on our own efforts in manpower and technology. To overcome the shortage of propulsion devices, we ignored the interference and obstruction of some people and successfully experimented with the new industrial technology of producing advanced versions of large propulsion engines by low-pressure casting and thus attained a surplus of such engines. To meet the needs of developing fisheries, we took up additional assignments and topped the production plans set by the state by producing such new products as the new-type trawler using illumination to catch fish. With "direct and exclusive control" criticized, the shipbuilding tonnage of our plant has in recent years gone up by 30 percent per year. In the fulfillment of state plans, the schedule has been advanced year after year, from 13 to 33 days to a quarter in 1975. These have vividly illustrated the correctness of Chairman Mao's instruction "two initiatives are better than one." The broad masses will never allow Teng Hsiao-p'ing to practice "direct and exclusive control," to concentrate the economic powers in the hands of the bourgeoisie inside the Party represented by him, turn socialist ownership into bureaucrat monopolistic ownership and restore capitalism.

Studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, paying attention to adjusting relationships between the cadres and the workers in the course of practice and thus promoting the development of production--this is an important aspect of turning spirit into matter. Chairman Mao points out: "If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class." In a socialist enterprise, the relations between cadres and workers

should be equal and comradely relations. However, due to the sabotage of the revisionist line and the existence of bourgeois rights, these relations often are not handled properly. Prior to the great cultural revolution, for instance, rules and regulations were drawn up by technical "authorities," with the managerial cadres enforcing them and the workers following them. This in fact amounted to treating the workers as wage laborers and imposing "control, check and repression" on them. In the course of studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, the vast numbers of cadres and workers in the light of the actual situation criticized the revisionist line for running enterprises such as the "one-chief system" and "management of factories by experts." They criticized bourgeois rights in the relations between men and studied the existing system of production management. In reality, under the existing management structure, the enterprise is still run by a few people, with bourgeois rights existing to a serious extent in the relations between men. Following the development of the productive forces, the old "birthmarks" of this type of relations of production have increasingly become fetters inhibiting the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses. If bourgeois rights in this respect are not restricted but allowed to extend, the enterprises may likely change their socialist character. The electrical workshop of our shipyard originally had 44 managerial cadres, divided into three groups in charge of production, testing and technical processes. For a long time, due to minute division of work, they used to pass the buck around, reigning in their office and divorcing themselves from reality. This strained the relations between cadres and the masses and affected production efficiency. On the basis of studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship and criticizing bourgeois rights, the worker masses of the entire workshop and the revolutionary cadres held adequate discussion and adopted measures. They abolished the three functioning groups and formed a production service group comprising nine cadres and four workers serving on a rotation basis. The other cadres were then assigned to the shop floor to participate in labor while attending to their own duties. This greatly improved the relations between the cadres and the masses and fostered the revolutionary spirit of the masses. As a result, the outlook of the workshop rapidly changed for the better. We then summed up and popularized the experience of the electrical workshop, setting up and improving, step by step, throughout the shipyard ten mass management networks for political propaganda, production planning, technical education, and quality control of products. This has contributed to the direct participation in enterprise management by the workers as masters of the plant, the shedding of bureaucratic airs by the leading cadres and their persistent participation in labor, the overcoming of the old practice of divorcing from reality by the technical management staff, and their involvement with the grassroots units. A new type of socialist relationship emphasizing united struggle has prevailed throughout the plant and this is conducive to the accelerated development of production. For example, in the past, according to the shipbuilding technical flow, the hull workshop first built a hull, and equipment was installed in the hull by other workshops in succession. Now, keeping the trouble to themselves, the workers of the hull workshop let the workers of other fraternal units come to work while the hull is being built. With everybody tensely toiling together and promoting the communist style of cooperation, the shipbuilding cycle has been shortened by a wide margin. For another instance, whereas in many workshops previously undue stress was laid on division of work according to the categories of jobs undertaken in each section, which often led to hoarding of labor, the workers now consciously break the old boundary of division of work and achieve many skills while specializing in one field. This interlocking

of work sections greatly steps up production efficiency. The physically strong workers look after the weak, and the more skilled help the less skilled. Working together, everybody comes forward to tackle heavy and filthy jobs. Working separately, they strive to get their job done fast, so saving time to help others. By making concerted efforts, it is possible to remove Mount T'ai. Changing the mental outlook of the leadership and the masses and improving men's interrelations has contributed to the appearance of an excellent situation in both revolution and production in our plant.

The transformation of the mental outlook which has brought about changes in production is also profoundly reflected in technical transformation. Our shipyard was built 78 years ago. Its equipment is rather old and plant premises are crude. The Party capitalist roaders have no faith in the masses. For a long period of time, they depended only on a few so-called technical "authorities." The wisdom and capabilities of the worker masses were left untapped and the technical transformation movement never got off to a good start. In production many backward technological processes were still employed. With the great cultural revolution the workers toppled the old idols, liberated their minds and applied Chairman Mao's philosophical ideas in criticizing the idealist conception of history upheld by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Persisting in practice and boldly introducing innovations, they kept "marching on production in depth and breadth." Giving full play to the wisdom and strength of the broad worker masses and following repeated practice and repeated knowing, the technical transformation continuously scaled new heights. The furnace section of the hull workshop undertook the task of processing outer plates and ribs of the hull. Bending a steel plate in the past required 7-8 workers to hammer it into shape in three to four hours after it was heated red hot in the furnace a dozen times. The labor intensity was strong, but the production efficiency was low. Guided by the principle of materialist dialectics and utilizing the contradiction between water and fire and the characteristics of steel plates expanding when hot and contracting when cold, they succeeded in their experiments with water and fire and developed the new technological process of "water and fire bending" of alloy steel plates. This changed the backward production features and reduced the whole work section from 70 people to about 30, with threefold or fourfold rise in production efficiency. The workers of the boiler workshop were also successful in the use of explosives to replace the conventional processing by rams, and on this basis they continued to increase, through repeated practice, their knowledge of the law governing the casting of molds by means of explosives, and succeeded in developing a new technological process of advanced level without the use of molds. Practice proves that in the struggle for production the extent of man's knowing and mastery of the laws of nature determines the degree of man's subjective effort and its application, and that knowledge and mastery of the laws of nature is determined by the degree of one's study of revolutionary theory. Only by grasping the Marxist philosophy, "a great instrument of knowing" ("The Three Sources and Components of Marxism," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 2, p. 443), and by continuously summing up experience in the course of practice can we "go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing."

"Matter can be turned into spirit and vice versa"--this is the universal law of the Marxist theory of knowledge, a theory that has been proved by innumerable facts. Teng Hsiao-p'ing himself "knows nothing about Marxism-Leninism and represents the bourgeoisie." He opposes the worker masses studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, opposes the workers marching on the superstructure. This fully reveals the hideous features of this renegade from Marxism. Teng Hsiao-p'ing negates the guidance of Marxism over the revolutionary practice of the proletariat. He attacks the mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, for the purpose of using revisionism to replace Marxism, the capitalist superstructure to replace the socialist superstructure. He tries to undermine the economic base of socialism so he can subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. His mean intentions will only stimulate us to more vigorously study revolutionary theory, persist in the revolution in the superstructure and its economic base, and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. We firmly believe that with the revolutionary theory of Marxism increasingly in the grip of the vast majority of the masses, we shall be able to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in a better way and win fresh and still greater victories in both revolution and production.

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A Specimen of Tampering with Marxism

by

Fang Hai (方海)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

Holding the red flag to oppose the red flag, superficially supporting Marxism while actually tampering with it and emasculating its revolutionary soul--this is a tactic habitually used by revisionists to oppose Marxism. The alteration of Chairman Mao's directive that "management itself is a matter of socialist education" by the chieftains of the revisionist line within the Party like Teng Hsiao-p'ing is such a specimen.

In 1964, our great leader Chairman Mao in an important directive on the socialist education movement profoundly analyzed the changes in class relations following the development of the socialist revolution. He scientifcally generalized the characteristics of class struggle in the historical period of socialism, and explicitly pointed out that a bureaucrat class existed in the Party. Chairman Mao said: "The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other." They "have turned, or are turning into, bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers," and "these people are the target of struggle and revolution." Chairman Mao referred the bureaucrat class to those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, that is, the bourgeoisie within the Party. This directive and a series of relevant directives set forth by Chairman Mao subsequently in this connection are a major development of the theories of Marx and Lenin concerning class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat; they ideologically arm the whole Party and the people of the whole country to become powerful ideological weapons for us to combat and prevent revisionism and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Judging by the overall directive, management as a matter of socialist education means that management is part of class struggle. The central question of management is this: which class should hold the leadership of socialist enterprises, what kind of line should be pursued, whom should be relied upon, whom should be united with, whom should be attacked, and the interests of which class should be served. Chairman Mao's directive concerns the socialist education movement in the city and the countryside, and this movement is a tit-for-tat class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party who are attacking us, with its target being those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, including Teng Hsiao-p'ing, opposed directing the movement principally at capitalist roaders inside the Party and did their utmost to distort the class character of the movement and protect the bourgeoisie inside the Party. This directive of Chairman Mao's was precisely aimed at their revisionist line. Here it is very clear that socialist education refers to class struggle, particularly struggle against capitalist roaders.

For a long time, however, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing countered Chairman Mao's directive. They went all out to cover up the main content of this directive, trying by all possible means to emasculate its revolutionary soul. Basically they did not say that the bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other were two classes sharply antagonistic to each other, nor did they say that the Party persons in power taking the capitalist roaders were the prime target of the socialist revolution. Instead, quoting out of context, they willfully distorted and even went against this directive, obliterating the class content of management as socialist education and twisting Chairman Mao's directive as meaning purely to strengthen management. How could they strengthen management? Still the same revisionist methods, the setting up of a few "imperial laws" to permit capitalist roaders to impose "control, check and repression" on the working class. This completely ran counter to Chairman Mao's directive.

In class society, enterprise management is invariably of a class nature. The key to successful management of socialist enterprises lies in the leadership being firmly held in the hands of Marxists and the worker masses, in unswervingly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, in criticizing the revisionist line and running socialist enterprises as strong bastions for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The struggle between the two lines on the question of enterprise management fully shows that the correctness or incorrectness of the line decides everything. Under the guidance of a correct line, the socialist new-type human interrelationships will be consolidated and developed and the leadership of the proletariat over the enterprises will continue to be consolidated. On the other hand, where the wrong line predominates, bourgeois rights relating to human interrelationships will be strengthened and extended, the leaders of enterprises will turn into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers, and such enterprises will also change color. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and their like distorted and tampered with Chairman Mao's directive because it exposed their character as a bureaucrat class. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing madly yell that "relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative"? Didn't he attack us for criticizing "control, check and repression" as making "wild accusations"? In essence, they wanted to continue to use the power in their hands to deprive the worker masses of the right to manage enterprises and use the revisionist rules and regulations to exercise bourgeois dictatorship over the worker masses or use such corrosive ideas as putting bonuses in command and material incentives to once more reduce the worker masses to slaves of capital.

In this directive Chairman Mao also pointed out: "If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class. If they don't learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won't be able to do management well either. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others." However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, distorted this vital directive as simply calling for the study of technical skils. In that "Certain Questions on Acclerating the Development of Industry," namely, the "20 Articles," cooked up at his bidding, the first half of the directive

was deleted, and only the words "If they don't learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won't be able to do management well either" were retained. Here three togetherness disappeared as did the sharp struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Management is all that matters; it means that one should only learn technical skills and should not be an outsider. Isn't that a blatant attempt to tamper with Chairman Mao's directive?

In socialist society there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and the most essential human relationships remain class relationships. The leaders and the led, the managerial staff and the worker masses in socialist enterprises are all masters of the state and enterprises; they differ only in division of work and not in ranks and grades. However, due to the existence of bourgeois rights and of ranks and grades, some people may possibly turn that part of power in their hands into a prerogative, turning from servants of the people into lords riding roughshod over the people, into a bureaucrat class. When Chairman Mao pointed out the need for cadres and managerial staff to practice three togetherness with the worker masses and to learn one or more skills, he precisely had in mind the conquest of bureaucratism, the prevention of revisionism, closer relations between cadres and the masses, the correct handling of contradictions among the people, and the assurance that our enterprises will not change color. The managerial staff can do their work well only if they place themselves in the position of ordinary laborers, identify themselves with the masses, consciously restrict bourgeois rights, become one with the workers in thought and feelings, modestly learn from the masses, and detach themselves from neither labor nor the masses. Unless they do so and if they sit high above and estrange themselves from the masses or even repress and exploit the workers, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class.

Do cadres and managerial staff need to learn technical skills? Of course, they do. Chairman Mao has consistently stressed that it is necessary to have our cadres master not only politics but also vocational affairs so as to become Red and expert. But, as for the relationship between politics and vocational affairs, politics is the commander. The cadres can serve the people only if they perseveringly put politics in command, work, study and live with the masses and learn skills from them. If they pay no attention to putting politics in command and to working, studying and living with the masses but merely give heed to learning technical skills, then they will abandon the main spirit of this directive. As a matter of fact, Teng Hsiao-p'ing himself is not genuinely concerned about cadres learning technical skills. His real aim is to oppose cadres identifying themselves with the workers and working, studying and living with them, to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie in the Party, to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights and to exploit and oppress the workers. At the same time, he wanted to cheat our cadres into abandoning proletarian politics and taking the "white and expert" road, to raise a group of aristocratic overlords who stay away from the masses and sit high above, to foster a class basis for them to push the revisionist line.

It is by no means accidental that the Party capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing distorted Chairman Mao's important directive in order to meet their counter-revolutionary political requirement of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. At the same time, it also exposes their feeble nature in acting perversely. Chairman Mao's important directive points out that the bourgeoisie in the Party is the prime target of the socialist revolution, and this touches the capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing to the quick. They cherish a deepseated class hatred for Chairman Mao's directive. However, because of the unique might of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, they can only use revisionist tricks to emasculate its revolutionary content, to blunt its revolutionary edge, "to forget, obliterate and distort the revolutionary aspect and spirit of this theory, to put those things the bourgeoisie can or seem to be able to accept first and extoll them." ("The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3, p. 174) However, no alteration can cover up the brilliancy of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Faced with the important directive of Chairman Mao which is shining far and wide, capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing once again show themselves up as nothing but revisionists. When stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts last year, didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing loudly allege that some people "cut Chairman Mao's viewpoint apart"? The publication of the full text of this directive, in contrast with the many revisionist arrangements which distort and cut up Chairman Mao's directive in those "regulations" and "outlines" intensively prepared by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, shows with ironclad facts that it is none other than the revisionists like Teng Hsiao-p'ing themselves who viciously "cut Chairman Mao's viewpoint apart."

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Why Did Teng Hsiao-p'ing Resuscitate the "Old Opera"?

by

Chiang T'ien (江 天)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

When stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts last year, Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged that "despite the staging of old operas for so many years, the revolution is after all a success." This reactionary fallacy, an old tune played more than once in the Liu Shao-ch'i bourgeois headquarters in bygone years, was roundly denounced by the revolutionary masses during the great cultural revolution. After resuming work, Teng Hsiao-p'ing once again played the same old tune without even bothering to change its language to resuscitate the "old opera." Why? Shouldn't we ponder about it?

According to Teng's absurd logic, it appears that reactionary culture and revolutionary politics can co-exist without conflict, with politics the concern of the proletariat and art that of the landlord and bourgeois classes, with the economic base serving socialism and the superstructure and ideology catering to feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. This is dualism preached by Trotsky, that is, the so-called "politics--Marxist; art--bourgeois" thesis criticized by Chairman Mao long ago. Teng Hsiao-p'ing again sprang out last year to peddle this revisionist fallacy, with the very sinister intention of trying to sever the relationships between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other, between the superstructure and the economic base, obliterating the contradictory antagonism between proletarian politics and feudal, capitalist and revisionist literature and art, between the socialist economic base and the old superstructure, so as to negate the necessity of carrying out the revolution in literature and art exemplified by the revolutionary model stage productions. "The revolution is after all a success despite the staging of old operas for so many years." Is the revolution in Peking opera simply superfluous? This shows that his resuscitation of the "old opera" is to reverse the verdict on the revolution in Peking opera and settle the old scores with the revolution in literature and art.

During the period of the new democratic revolution, the "old opera" to which Teng Hsiao-p'ing was strongly attached was also most detrimental to the Chinese people's liberation cause, as it was geared to the old culture which reflected the semi-colonial and semi-feudal politics and economics and formed a reactionary alliance with imperialist culture. It was daily benumbing and disintegrating the people's revolutionary fighting will. It was a pack of cultural drugs and cultural garbage that had to be continuously eliminated in the course of the Chinese revolution. "Unless it is swept away, no new culture of any kind can be built up. There is no construction without destruction, no flow without damming and no motion without rest; the two are locked in a life-and-death struggle." ("On New Democracy") In his "Letter to the Yenan P'ing Opera House After Seeing 'Driven to Liangshan'" which he wrote back in 1944, Chairman Mao proposed the fighting task of

reversing the reversal of history on the old opera stage, a call to us to make revolution against the "old opera" in a radical way. However, Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the chieftains of the sinister revisionist line for literature and art not only ignored Chairman Mao's important instruction but intensified their efforts to applaud the "old opera." Consequently, the staging of the old operas caught on without abatement. Exactly because of the backing of the bourgeois commanders in the Party, the stage prior to the great cultural revolution was still dominated by emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties as well as monsters and demons.

The history of struggle on the literary and art front since the founding of the People's Republic shows that on the question of how to approach the "old opera," many acute trials of strength have been conducted between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. These struggles invariably have been closely related with the political line struggles within the Party. The source of the gusts of evil wind that blew across the literary and art circles could always be traced to the chieftains of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. In 1956, Liu Shao-ch'i babbled: "There isn't any problem in presenting the opera 'Gen. Yang Visits His Mother.' Hasn't new China come into being after so many years of performing this opera?" Teng Hsiao-p'ing's slanderous remarks for resuscitating the "old opera" last year were no different from the fallacies cooked up by Liu Shao-ch'i in the past. According to their reasoning, the "old opera" was not only harmless, but also had merit, as it even contributed to the founding of new China. With "bigshots" like Liu and Teng speaking approvingly of the "old opera," the literary and art circles at that time opened the gates to the so-called "open repertoire," with the result that plays like "Sha Tzu Pao" (杀子报) and "Ta P'i Kuan" (大劈棺) which propagated violence and sex, were staged on a large scale. The drums and gongs of the "old opera" encouraged the bourgeois Rightists to mount rabid attacks against the Party and socialism. Around 1962, the Liu Shao-ch'i bourgeois headquarters once again made a big fuss of the "old opera" and brought out all the rotten things on various excuses to poison the broad masses. Still unsatisfied with this, Teng Hsiao-p'ing then ordered the writers and artists to present more completely and systematically stories about emperors, kings, ministers and generals. "Let us compile from the three kings and five emperors all the way up to the modern history." "Let us have 360 plays and stage one day and 360 a year." So a batch of big anti-Party poisonous weeds in the garb of so-called "newly compiled historical plays" appeared one after another with considerable fanfare. Naturally, they did so, not for "entertainment" purposes nor out of their particular fondness for the old tune, but for the sake of pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, using these "old operas" as weapons to restore capitalism, undermine the foundation of socialism and exercise dictatorship over the proletariat.

In view of this grave situation, Chairman Mao pointed out incisively: "The socio-economic base has changed, but the department of art as part of the superstructure serving this base remains even now a major problem." Moreover, he specifically mentioned: "As to operatic and other related departments, the problems are even bigger." Since the revolution in Peking opera, initiated under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant directive, was a revolution against the "old opera," its spearhead of struggle was naturally directed at those Party capitalist roaders who were doing their utmost to

defend the "old opera." The revolution in Peking opera, a prelude to the great cultural revolution, was at the same time an important component of this great revolution. It was not surprising that the capitalist roaders in the Party bitterly resented it, "nursing implacable hostility," in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's words. Therefore, on the day the revolution in Peking opera started, he said cynically: "Good new operas are not many, and there may still be old operas in the future! I am all for opera reform, but I just don't like to listen." "All for" was false, "don't like to listen" was a a fact, and all-out opposition was his intention. "There may still be old operas in the future" betrayed his anxiety to see to it that "old operas" might return one morning. This was the clue, and in his heart was the burning desire to change the heaven. So when he went back to work and held big power, he thought he was able to sway the situation and could not wait to resuscitate the soul of the "old opera."

But, reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people. Teng Hsiao-p'ing lifted a rock only to drop it on his feet. The "old opera" he had been trying to resuscitate failed to appear, and he himself "is struck down for a second time." His rather satirical performance added to people's insight.

It tells us in the first place that the main danger of restoration in literary and art circles, as on other fronts, comes also from the capitalist roaders in the Party. This is because, wearing a mask and holding power in their hands, they dare to say or do those things the bourgeoisie outside the Party dare not say or do. Daring to speak and act, they are really more ruthless than the bourgeoisie outside the Party in practicing restoration. At a time when the revolutionary model stage productions gained widespread popularity and influence and the revolution in literature and art won major victories, the fallacy that "the revolution after all is a success despite the staging of the old opera for so many years" could hardly produce any impact on society today if it came from the lips of the bourgeoisie outside the Party. However, if it came from the lips of such a man as Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the result would be quite different. Because he could use his power to alter the Party's line and policies, the result would be far more deceptive and harmful. Practice in struggle shows that the evil wind stirred up by the capitalist roaders in the Party will abet an adverse current in society at large. When Teng Hsiao-p'ing was invoking the departed soul of the "old opera," weren't there renewed presentations of sinister and wicked "old operas" in some localities? This shows that the capitalist restorationist forces that exist both inside and outside the Party echo each other and breathe from the same nostrils. Under the condition of proletarian dictatorship, the old and new bourgeois elements in society at large as well as the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements cannot but pin their hopes for restoration on the capitalist roaders inside the Party. As long as there are unrepentant capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-p'ing playing the role of commander, their restoration hopes can be quite easily translated into restoration actions.

It is not difficult to imagine that the ascent of the "old operas" will inevitably mean the descent of the revolutionary model stage productions, and that the ascent of emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties, and monsters and demons will inevitably mean the descent of worker-peasant-soldier heroes. In this way, not only will the gains of the

great cultural revolution go down the drain, but those of the democratic revolution will be lost, and the Chinese society will retreat to the old time of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Therefore, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attempt to resuscitate the "old opera" after the fashion of Trotsky's dualism is, in the last analysis, aimed at subordinating everything from literature and art to politics to the bourgeoisie and enforcing bourgeois autocracy over culture. Just as Chairman Mao pointed out in criticizing the bourgeois diehards: "They are unwilling to see the workers and peasants rear their heads politically, nor culturally." ("On New Democracy")

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attempt to invoke the departed spirit of the "old opera" has exposed not only the reactionary nature of the capitalist roaders inside the Party, but also their inherent vulnerability. Since in the cultural sphere they cannot produce anything worthwhile that can beat the proletariat, they can only seek the help of Chinese feudal and imperialist culture. This in cultural ideology finds expression in notions of returning to the past, slavish comprador ideas, praising the old and deprecating the present, worshipping things foreign and belittling things Chinese, extolling capitalist and feudal viruses, and rigging up a triple reactionary cultural alliance of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism to have a test of strength with socialist revolutionary culture. This characteristic of the bourgeoisie inside the Party is an inevitable manifestation of the relative political and cultural impotence of the Chinese bourgeoisie, which is an historical characteristic. This explains why the chieftains of the opportunist line from Liu Shao-ch'i to Teng Hsiao-p'ing always zealously promoted feudal and capitalist arts, why Teng stuck to his defense of the "old opera" and intensely hated the revolutionary model stage productions that have now dominated the literary and art stage. All this explains that because they want to push the revisionist line and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, they cannot do without the "old opera," a public opinion vehicle that may pave the way for them.

As regards Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attempt to practice restoration and regression, we have here an analogy. Suppose "the head is severed from the body." Although the body has arrived at the socialist revolution stage, the head is left behind in the democratic revolution stage. If it is said that he was a reluctant fellow traveler of the proletariat during the democratic revolution period, he is no longer one in the socialist revolution period. This is because his stand, viewpoint and method in looking at a problem are characteristic of the diehards, who always regard what is old as good, the older the better. That is why he wants to move backward, even to the point of "stiffening his resolution and risking his old life." However, as Chairman Mao has asserted: "Regression eventually produces the reverse of what its promoters intend. There is no exception to this rule either in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere." ("The New-Democratic Constitutional Government") No matter how hard Teng Hsiao-p'ing tried to invoke the departed spirit of the "old opera," the "future" of "there may still be old operas" is still remote. The rich repertoires of various kinds in our country are forging ahead along the broad path opened up by the revolution in Peking opera. Driven by the revolutionary model stage productions, a flourishing scene of blossoming flowers is enfolding before us. Let Teng Hsiao-p'ing go to a corner and weep!

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Forever Adhere to Chairman Mao's Line on Army Building

- A critique of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist fallacies on army building

by

Shen P'ing (沈 平)

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Founded, led and commanded by our great leader Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has traversed a glorious course for 49 years. In the past four decades and more, our army has always regarded the realization of the Party's program and line as its goal. During the period of the democratic revolution, our army, together with the Chinese people, waged a long and most arduous struggle and made tremendous contributions to overthrowing the three big mountains /of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism/ and to the founding of the proletarian regime. Since the inauguration of new China, our army has maintained and carried forward the glorious revolutionary tradition of the war years and has fought shoulder to shoulder with the people throughout the country. It has successfully accomplished the various political tasks assigned by the Party in the socialist revolution and construction and in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It has given full scope to its role as a solid pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, becoming an important force in smashing attempts by the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party to practice restoration and regression and a great wall of iron against aggression and subversion by imperialism, revisionism and reaction. In sum, the reason why our army has been able to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to retain the political color of a people's army is that it has always adhered to Chairman Mao's line on army building, persistently taken class struggle as the key link and made unceasing efforts to strengthen itself.

Chairman Mao has consistently called for strengthening army building in keeping with the developing situation of class struggle and in accordance with the Party's political line and political tasks. The successive rectification campaigns launched in our army under Chairman Mao's leadership all took class and line struggles as the key link. At the critical juncture of the 10th line struggle, Chairman Mao dealing with army building pointed out that the army must be united and consolidated. It must study the line and correct unhealthy styles. It must not entertain the mountain-stronghold mentality and sectarianism but must stick to unity. In light of the spirit of Chairman Mao's instruction, it is necessary for us to take class struggle as the key link and apply the three basic principles--"practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire"--as a weapon to criticize Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. It is necessary to educate the army in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and in the Party's correct line to enable it to better fulfill Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It is necessary to strengthen the building of our army politically, ideologically and organizationally to enable it to rally closely around the Party Central

Committee headed by Chairman Mao and to make ever bigger contributions to defending and developing the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, basically distorted Chairman Mao's instructions on army building. Proceeding from the need of pushing the revisionist political program of "taking the three directives as the key link," in a "speech" at a meeting in the army he dished up the revisionist military program with "rectification" as the key link and negated the need to take class struggle as the key link in army building in an attempt to use "rectification" as a big stick to knock down Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist political and military lines, to abolish our army's tasks of opposing capitalist restoration at home and aggression from abroad, and to negate the achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution as well as the policy of grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war. In so doing, he tried to transform our army in the image of the capitalist roaders and turn this pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a tool for capitalist restoration. Taking "rectification" as the key link most clearly expresses the overall spirit and tendency of that speech of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's, which represented an important step in his plan of action in carrying out "all-round rectification" and attempting to reverse the verdicts and restore capitalism.

What should be taken as the key link in the work of the army? This directly involves the nature of our army and the orientation in army building, and has always been a basic issue in the struggle between two military lines. As early as the initial days of our army, Chairman Mao in the article "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" already heavily criticized the erroneous concept of "thinking that the task of the Red Army, like that of the White army, is merely to fight. They do not understand that the Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution." Moreover, Chairman Mao pointed out that one of the sources of this purely military viewpoint was "absence of confidence in the strength of the masses of the people." It was exactly on this basic issue that Teng Hsiao-p'ing willfully tampered with Chairman Mao's proletarian military line.

The great leader Chairman Mao, applying the law of the unity of opposites to his observation of socialist society, formulated a basic line for the Party in the socialist period, and time and again warned the Party "never to forget classes and class struggle." Class struggle is the key link for all the work of the Party, and naturally it is also the key link for the work of the army. As a tool of class struggle, the army always belongs to a definite class and Party, and serves the interests and political line of that class. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a new-type people's army under the absolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, an armed body that implements the Party's program and line. Military work is part of Party work. The specific line and policies for military work are subordinate to the general line and policies of the Party. In the socialist period, our army to implement the Party's basic program and accomplish the Party's ultimate coal must regard the Party's basic line as the lifeline for the whole work of the army, exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and build itself up in the image of the vanguard of the proletariat. This

way it will be possible for the army to "adhere to the correct political orientation" ("To Be Opposed by the Enemy Is a Good and Not a Bad Thing"), and obey the command of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee in all its actions as well as marching forward in concert to win the victories. Without the work of the whole Party serving as the key link and without the Party's basic line, it is possible that in time the principle of the Party commanding the gun will be altered, and there will be the danger of the army departing from the leadership of the proletariat.

The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the main contradiction in socialist society. An army cannot exist in isolation from society, and class struggle in society will inevitably be reflected in the army through various channels. China "even now practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in this is not much different from the old society." As a principal component of state power, the army, like other spheres of the superstructure, will inevitably reflect the defects of "not much different from the old society," bourgeois rights and the soil and conditions which engender capitalism and a bourgeoisie in the economic base. Chairman Mao's line in army building plays a guiding role in our army, and essentially distinguishes our army from old-type armies. But still it cannot be said that our army has entirely freed itself from the influence of old-type armies as pointed out in the resolution of the Kut'ien meeting. In particular, it should be noted that in the socialist period, the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party." To struggle against capitalist roaders and make revolution against the bourgeoisie inside the Party is a common fighting task for the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. By taking "rectification" as the key link, Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted to get rid of class struggle as the key link, that is, to oppose our revolution against the bourgeoisie in the Party. It teaches us by negative example that we must firmly grasp the principal contradiction in army building--the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, take class struggle as the key link, and persist in the struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, by Marxism against revisionism, and by correct ideas against erroneous ones. Only by so doing will it be possible to make sure that the army of the proletariat will never change its nature and that the guns will forever be in the hands of the Party and the people.

How to assess the situation of our army since the start of the great cultural revolution is not only a question of how to evaluate the people's army, but also one of how to look at the great cultural revolution. While charging that things on all fronts are not as good as what they were before, Teng Hsiao-p'ing also described our army as a mess, and negated the huge achievements of "three-supports and two militaries" and the great progress made in army building. He slanderously accused the army of having "rather more problems" and attributed all these "problems" to the great cultural revolution and to supporting the Left. It is obvious that by negating the excellent situation of our army, Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted to negate the great cultural revolution. In "rectifying" the army, he wanted to reverse the verdicts of the great cultural revolution on the work of the army and to settle the old scores with the great cultural revolution.

To put it bluntly, taking "rectification" as the key link means taking restoration as the key link.

Chairman Mao points out: "What is the great cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle." In this life-and-death class battle, our army seriously carried out the "three supports and two militaries" work in response to Chairman Mao's great call "support the broad masses of the Left" and in accordance with Chairman Mao's line, principles and policies. Fighting together with the people throughout the country, it smashed the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao respectively, shattered the schemes of the bourgeoisie inside the Party to restore capitalism, and performed fresh merits for the people. This was time and again affirmed by the Party Central Committee and warmly praised by the broad masses of people. But Teng Hsiao-p'ing rudely denounced and entirely negated all this. This is not surprising. The reason is that he was the No. 2 of Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters, and during the great cultural revolution, he was duly exposed and criticized by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. How could he not resent "three supports and two militaries" and the great cultural revolution?

In his brilliant "May 7 directive," Chairman Mao clearly laid down the tasks and guidelines for army building for our army during the socialist period, reiterating that in addition to fighting, our army must also carry out other tasks and in particular must participate in the socialist education movement whose prime target was the capitalist roaders in the Party and in the struggle of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie. Our army was founded and exists for carrying out the Party's political tasks. To criticize the bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeoisie within the Party, is a bounden duty of our army. For our army to carry out the "three supports and two militaries" task is a major practice to combat and prevent revisionism together with the people under socialist conditions. If the army does not participate in the class struggle against the restoration of capitalism, it cannot become a pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, let alone a people's army with the sole purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly.

The great cultural revolution is a strong propellant for China's social development as well as the building of our army. The ten years in which the great cultural revolution developed triumphantly are the ten years in which our army building forged ahead victoriously. In this great revolution, our army, by going to society to weather storms and see the world, was tempered in a way in which it could not be tempered in time of peace, learned those things which could not be learned in the barracks, further deepened its understanding of the law and characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period, and improved its techniques in the fight against capitalist roaders. Reading and studying became a prevailing trend, large numbers of new socialist things emerged, new-born forces grew sturdily, and fresh experiences were accumulated in army building. The victories won in the battles of self-defense on Chenpao and Hsisha Islands indicate that our army has become stronger after being tempered in the great cultural revolution. What inspires us even more is the fact that when Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist political and military programs were passed on to the army, many cadres and fighters sniffed the peril and boldly resisted and criticized them. A large number of "small characters" dared to challenge the "bigshots" who practiced revisionism, resisted the adverse wind and waves

and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the revisionist line. Such advanced deeds vividly speak for the extremely far-reaching significance of the great cultural revolution and the inevitable doom of revisionism. These encouraging achievements are an important sign of the excellent situation in our army.

Those who view the situation from different class stands will naturally arrive at different conclusions. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie certainly do not apply the same yardstick to what is good and bad. To the proletariat and the masses of working people, the great proletarian cultural revolution and the excellent situation it has created on all fronts are great, good things. But to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, they are not just bad, but a disaster. The line determines the situation, and the situation reflects the line. The excellent situation indicates the correctness of the line. The reason why Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted to negate the excellent situation in our army was that he wanted to negate the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, negate the Party's correct political and military lines, and create public opinion for continuing the pursuit of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and transforming our army in the image of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The People's Liberation Army is always a fighting force.... On this point there should be no misunderstanding or wavering." ("Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China") At present, all the basic contradictions in the world are daily sharpening. The factors for both revolution and war are visibly increasing. The contention between the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, is intensifying. Soviet social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of war today. Domestic class struggle is always linked with international class struggle. The restorationist activities of the bourgeoisie at home always have an international background. Therefore, we must firmly grasp this key link, class struggle, and while taking an active part in the struggle against restoration, we must be prepared to fight. We must seriously complete all preparations for wars of aggression and be ever ready to wipe out all enemies who dare to invade us and to liberate Taiwan, our sacred territory.

On the question of being prepared to fight, Teng Hsiao-p'ing also spread a great deal of revisionist fallacies. Evil intentions were hidden behind his so-called "concern" for preparedness against war. Taking "rectification" as the key link and peddling the theory of weapons and the theory of productive forces, he did his utmost to preach that to fight a battle means to fight "a battle with steel," and that to prepare against war means to prepare "iron and steel", thus putting the relationship between people and things and between politics and military affairs upside down. He tried to bring the work of preparedness against war to his revisionist orbit of "taking the three directives as the key link" to undermine not only revolution but also preparedness against war.

On what do we mainly depend to fight a war? What is the chief preparation against war? What line should be used to guide war preparations?

These are questions that demand clear answer. Marxism has always held that the decisive factor in war is man, not material. Chairman Mao says: "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. Relative strength is determined not only by relative military and economic power, but also by manpower and morale. Military and economic power has to be controlled by people." ("On Protracted War") Under contemporary conditions, even though great developments have been made in weapons and equipment and there have been new changes in the character of war with definite influence on military operations, nothing has altered this great truth pointed out by Chairman Mao and repeatedly proved by revolutionary wars in China and elsewhere. To win the victory in any future war against aggression, we shall have to rely mainly not on "advanced" weapons, but on the masses of people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, on Chairman Mao's idea of people's war and on the correct political and military lines Chairman Mao formulates for our Party and army. We have never denied the need to have iron and steel to wage war, nor have we ever denied the necessity of improving weapons and equipment, intensifying military training and raising the level of military technology. The question is to put these things in proper perspective. The policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production, other work and preparedness against war" set by Chairman Mao, is the only correct policy for handling the relations between the various aspects of preparedness against war. Preparedness against wars of aggression is many-sided and must be seriously performed all round. But the main thing is to be mentally prepared, that is, to have the revolutionary spirit of getting ready for war and the courage to fight and be confident of victory. By getting mentally prepared and bringing into full play the subjective initiative of people, it will be possible to continuously create the material conditions necessary for winning victories in war and make all techniques and tactics highly effective.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. If we prepare against war in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will be well prepared against war and will be able to win the victory if it should come. But Teng Hsiao-p'ing talked only about the role of weapons, without ever mentioning "the army and the people are the foundation of victory". ("On Protracted War") He talked only about the role of iron and steel, without ever mentioning the masses are "the real iron bastion". ("Be Concerned with the Livelihood of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work") He discussed only material preparation, and not mental preparation, consistently advocating that future wars should be "wars fought with steel." He even went so far as to demand that worker militia organizations in all enterprises be "abolished without exception." According to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary logic, it seems that victory or defeat in war, success or failure of revolution and the destiny of man are all determined by iron and steel, weapons and technique. In other words, the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, who have the largest iron and steel output and the best weapons in the world today can forever do as they please and dictate the world. On the other hand, the proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples in the world have no other choice but to submit to the enslavement and control by the nuclear overlords and become beasts of burden forever; "countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution"--all this is out of the question. History proves that for all revisionists to advocate the theory of weapons will inevitably lead to capitulationism, abandoning

the revolution and forfeiting the fruits of the revolution. By trumpeting the theory of weapons, Teng Hsiao-p'ing opened the way to defeat, to national betrayal and capitulation, and directly served the war blackmail and power politics of the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. The theory of weapons he peddled is a variant in military affairs of the theory of productive forces he stubbornly clung to. To be prepared against war according to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line can only mean being prepared for him to restore capitalism.

Our army has a glorious revolutionary tradition of loyalty to the Party and the people. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has taken deep root in people's hearts in our army. In the face of the powerful Chinese People's Liberation Army, conspiracies engineered by all chieftains of the revisionist line can only end in ignominious defeat. Lin Piao attempted a coup d'etat and wanted to overthrow the proletariat, but in the end was overthrown himself. Today Teng Hsiao-p'ing, this restorationist maniac, vainly attempted to beat the proletariat through "rectification," but that is merely "a pipe dream once again." We have won great victories, but the struggle is far from being over. We must carry forward the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of "with power to spare we must pursue the tottering foe." In accordance with the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and under the unified leadership of Party committees at various levels, we must step up our study and criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing in depth in the light of actual conditions, win still greater victories in beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and forever advance in triumph along Chairman Mao's army-building line!

* * *

Forge Close Ties Between Officers and Men Through Working, Studying and Living Together

by

Party Committee of "Tsinan First Regiment" of PLA Peking Units

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

In an important directive on the socialist education movement in 1964, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to eath other." "Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them, and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class." This important directive of Chairman Mao's profoundly exposes the class essence of the capitalist roaders within the Party; it is a powerful ideological weapon for us to combat and prevent revisionism and persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a powerful ideological weapon for us to restrict bourgeois rights. It is of major significance as a guide to further improving the relations between officers and men and strengthening army building.

Unity between officers and men is a glorious tradition formed in prolonged revolutionary struggle on the personal initiative of our great leader Chairman Mao. It embodies the proletarian essence of a people's army, glittering with Communist ideas. It is an important factor for our army to possess immense fighting power and to be able to overcome every difficulty and defeat any enemy. In the revolutionary war years of frequent fighting and hard living, the leading cadres at various levels in our army, directing and fighting on the front, shared the same pot of rice with the fighters, slept on the same bed, and drank from the same kettle. They shared the weal and woe with the soldiers and even sacrificed their lives to protect the latter. In the battle to liberate Tsinan and in the Huaihai campaign, there were many moving instances in our regiment in which cadres cherished and were cherished by fighters.

Over half of the leading members of our regiment came from the war years and won merit for the revolution. We will never forget the revolutionary tradition of three togetherness with the fighters in those war years. But we also see clearly that in the historical period of socialism there still exist classes and class struggle, bourgeois rights and the influence of bourgeois thinking. Our leading cadres have changed in position, receiving a higher pay and living better. Under these circumstances, how to continue to maintain and carry forward our glorious tradition of unity between officers and men and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a new test facing everybody. In a peaceful environment and living comfortably, one is liable to acquire the feeling of being an official of merit hankering after ease and comfort and seeking no progress,

to relish and pursue bourgeois rights, to be high and mighty and divorce oneself from the masses. The bourgeoisie, and especially the representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party, often exploit this and attack us with sugar-coated bullets. If we leading cadres do not remain fully alert nor seriously transform our world outlook, fight against the revisionist line and consciously resist the corruption and influence of the bourgeoisie, then the relations as class brothers between officers and men will change, and in time we will find ourselves locked in accute class struggle with the masses of basic-level cadres and fighters. Therefore, while it is important to persist in three togetherness with the fighters during war, it is even more important to do so under socialist conditions, in peaceful circumstances. Far from being "a trifle," this is a major issue bearing on permanently keeping the proletarian nature of our army.

Given this awareness, we often recall the glorious tradition of past war years, and urge everyone not to look to his own laurels but to continue to win fresh merit for the revolution. As for young cadres who ascended to leadership posts from grassroots levels, we also remind them of the importance of persisting in three togetherness, so that while doing leading work, they won't drop out from the ranks of the fighters but maintain the features of ordinary soldiers. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our Party committee came to the decision that the regiment's leading cadres should at least spend three months a year in the companies to practice three togetherness with the fighters. In recent years, the principal leading cadres of the regiment each spent an average of four months or so a year serving as privates in the companies, working, studying and living with the fighters.

For leading cadres to practice three togetherness with the fighters is a profound ideological revolution, which will inevitably meet with various obstacles and resistence. Our Party committee has always taken class struggle as the key link, and persisted in the fight against various erroneous ideas and tendencies, turning the process of furthering the ties between officers and men in the course of three togetherness into a process of transforming world outlook and strengthening the ideologized building of the Party committee.

In strengthening the ties between officers and men in the practice of three togetherness, we must drop the bureaucratic airs and consciously identify ourselves with the fighters. The aim of our army is to serve the people wholeheartedly. Our cadres and fighters are politically equal; they differ only in revolutionary division of work and not in material status. However, some comrades always feel that being officials themselves, they often find it hard to put down airs when they go to the company. When the fighters give them certain favors out of respect and concern for the leadership, these comrades also take them for granted. Thus a wall is invisibly formed between cadres and fighters. The old idea that "officials are precious and the people are cheap" is at work. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching "Be not only 'officials' but also common people" and by continuing to criticize the idea of bourgeois rights, we make everyone consciously break with the old traditional concepts, drop the bureaucratic airs, and identify themselves with the fighters. In the course of practicing three togetherness, members of the Party committee make a point of appearing in the posture of ordinary Party members, ordinary laborers and ordinary soldiers in every way, eating the same food as the fighters, using the same kind of

beddings and joining the fighters in study, criticism and drilling. In the severe cold of winter, a deputy political commissar led a company out to take part in construction work. He turned down the offer of an air-conditioned room, and insisted on living with the fighters in a bamboo shed. When the cooks offered him an extra dish, he poured it into the big pot. He was the first to volunteer to do heavy jobs. The fighters said of him: "Our deputy political commissar doesn't act like an official. He is just one of us!" The deputy political commissar, too, said with feeling: "When you as a leading cadre put on airs, the fighters will treat you as a stranger and stay away from you. Only when you put down airs and identify yourself with the fighters will they take you as one of them and talk to you!"

To forge close ties between officers and men in the practice of three togetherness, it is also necessary to break the idea that "leadership knows best". We must modestly learn from the masses and be good students of the fighters. In the past, some of our comrades said that they ought to learn from the masses, yet in fact they always felt that they were wiser than the fighters since they spent more time in the army and fought in wars more than the fighters trained. So when they arrived at the companies, they often cast themselves in the role of teachers, and what they did often confused the cadres and fighters in the companies. Facts show that this "leadership knows best" theory is entirely wrong and is highly detrimental to the practice of three togetherness and to forging close ties between officers and men. Chairman Mao points out: "In a certain sense, the cleverest and the most capable are the fighters with the richest practical experience." He also points out: "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant." "Very often the subordinates are more capable than the superiors, the masses are wiser than the leaders, and the leaders are not as good as ordinary laborers. This is because they divorce themselves from the masses and have no practical experience." We deeply feel that the fighters who battle on the first line of the three major revolutionary movements learn revolutionary theory better than we do, their line-struggle consciousness is higher than ours, their demand for revolution and progress is stronger than ours, and they have richer practical knowledge and fresh experience than we have. In the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, the fighters went a step ahead of cadres and first levelled criticism against Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "taking the three directives as the key link." In military training, they proposed a great deal of practical and effective methods which had not been thought of by many leading cadres. These examples deeply jolted the cadres and raised their consciousness of learning from the fighters. While practicing three togetherness, many comrades also make a point of learning "skills" from the fighters. A deputy regimental commander who was responsible for training truck drivers in the regiment, carefully learned from drivers and truck maintenance men, found the rope of truck maintenance, and won the initiative in leadership. Practice has made everyone aware that a high position does not mean a high level of consciousness and seniority does not mean stronger capability. When the leading cadres honestly learn from the masses and fighters and continue to draw rich political nourishment from the masses, they will keep up with the pace of the masses and go on marching forward on the road of continuing revolution.

The key to cementing the ties between officers and men in the practice of three togetherness lies in strengthening our proletarian feelings toward the fighters. If we lack proletarian feelings for the fighters, even when we go to the companies, we would be separated from the fighters by an invisible wall and lack a common language with them. In that case, it will be impossible to cement the ties in the real sense. In doing leadership work, we should, with deep proletarian feelings, care for, cherish and help the fighters. It is only when we have such class feelings toward the fighters that we can do ideological and political work in a penetrating and conscientious manner and make a success of management. The regimental political commissar, during his two-month stay in the 8th company, talked to over half of the cadres and fighters of the company individually and helped them solve their ideological problems. Learning that a fighter was worried about his application for Party membership, the political commissar talked to him many times and helped him raise his consciousness by studying with him. When the father of a fighter of the 2nd Company fell seriously ill, a deputy political commissar who happened to work in the company went to town to buy medicine and sent it to him by post. The fighter was so moved that he burst into tears. When we cadres have strong proletarian feelings toward the fighters, they will take us as their "bosom friends" and "confidents." They will be willing to talk us, consult us and seek our help in solving their difficulties. They will also dare to make suggestions to us, and be more resolute in carrying out the assignments we give them.

For many years, and especially during the great proletarian cultural revolution, the criticism of Lin and Confucius and the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, our Party committee, guided by Chairman Mao's army-building line and through vigorously promoting three togetherness of the leading cadres with the fighters, has effectively advanced the ideological revolutionization of the leading cadres. The outlook of the army has undergone profound changes. The political atmosphere becomes stronger, new socialist things continue to emerge, and various tasks in training, construction and other fields are satisfactorily fulfilled. An excellent situation where orioles sing and swallows swirl has appeared. This forcefully refutes Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attack on the situation in the armed forces and his slanderous charge that "the mutual relations are rather strained" in the armed forces, and rebuffs his attempt to oppose three togetherness and undermine the relationship between officers and men. We are determined to study more seriously Chairman Mao's important directives on the socialist education movement, penetratingly criticize the revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and persist, along the direction charted by Chairman Mao, in practicing three togetherness with the fighters on a long-term basis. We are resolved to make a greater effort to promote the glorious tradition of unity between officers and men in our army and strive to build up the armed forces, strengthen preparedness against war, liberate Taiwan, the sacred territory of the mother country,and victoriously fulfill the various fighting tasks given by the Party.

* * *

Make a Success of the Work of Preparing Against War by Taking Class Struggle as the Key Link

by

Party Branch of the Red First Company of Certain Unit of Shenyang PLA Units

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

Our company is stationed at an anti-revisionist outpost in China's northeast, charged with the glorious task of protecting our frontiers. In the battle of self-defense on the Chenpao Island, the company gloriously won the order of collective first-class merit. Since the start of the great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, we have seriously studied a series of important directives laid down by Chairman Mao, penetratingly criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, further raised the cadres' and fighters' consciousness of class and line struggles and fulfilled the tasks of preparing against war with still better results.

"Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." Class struggle, as the key link of all work on all fronts, is also the key link of our army's preparedness against war. The concrete struggle has made us deeply aware that it is only when we use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought concerning the theory of classes and class struggle to analyze the class relations and the situation of international class struggle in the socialist period, understand the law of class struggle at home and abroad, and enable cadres and fighters to bear firmly in mind our army's basic duty to oppose internal restoration and external aggression that we can more consciously do a good job of preparing against war and raise the fighting capacity of our army. In the course of education on preparedness against war, we lead the comrades of the whole company to penetratingly criticize the theory of the dying out of class struggle spread by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and make a point of observing the trends and changes in class struggle at home and abroad. This enables everyone to continue to overcome pacific and lethargic ideas, further recognize the aggressive nature of imperialism and social-imperialism, discern the danger of a new world war, and remain sober and not to forget preparedness against war. The "international situation study group" of the company constantly lectures the company on the international situation and exposes the criminal acts of the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, in pretending to discuss detente while actually preparing for war, intensifying the contention for world hegemony and creating international tensions. We also cite all ironclad evidence of the Soviet revisionists' encroachment on our Chenpao Island to wrathfully denounce the crimes of the Soviet revisionist new tsars, so that the comrades can see more clearly the Soviet revisionists' undying desire to subjugate us, and realize that imperialism means war and that as long as imperialism and social-imperialism and their running dogs exist in the world, the danger of a new world war will always be present and we must get prepared.

Our army shoulders not only the duty of opposing external aggression but also the important historical task of opposing internal restoration. Chairman Mao points out, "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." The Party capitalist roaders are the main force in restoring capitalism. To understand the traits of the bourgeoisie within the Party and its danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat, we organize all comrades of the company to conscientiously study a series of important directives given by Chairman Mao and penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and his crimes of reversing verdicts and practicing restoration. The company has held a total of 89 criticism meetings of various types and written more than 1,850 critical essays. After the outbreak of the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, our company organized the same night all comrades of the company to condemn this incident. Said the comrades: following his aborted attempt to seize Party and state power, Lin Piao couldn't wait to launch a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat; when the revisionist line of "taking the three directives as the key link" pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing went bankrupt, a handful of class enemies at once jumped out to create the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square. We must not only expose the political intrigues of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and thoroughly criticize their reactionary fallacies, but also raise our vigilance constantly and resolutely smash and suppress their counter-revolutionary disturbances to give full play to the great might of our army as a pillar of proletarian dictatorship. The fact that since the great cultural revolution started, whenever the people of our country struggled against the bourgeoisie in the Party, imperialism and social-imperialism would always carry out sabotage and make trouble enables all comrades to realize that the bourgeoisie in the Party are the agents of imperialism, revisionism and reaction in our country. Imperialism and social-imperialism provide support for the bourgeoisie in the Party, and class enemies at home and abroad always echo each other and work hand in glove. Therefore, we must link the struggle against the counter-revolutionaries and revisionists at home with preparedness against war of aggression from abroad. When great victories are won in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, we must all the more be vigilant against aggressive and subversive activities by imperialism and social-imperialism.

Such study and criticism make everyone see more clearly the current situation and features of class struggle at home and abroad. The prolonged existence of class struggle at home and abroad dictates protracted war against restoration and constant preparedness against aggression. Knowing the intentions of the enemy and seeing who the principal enemies are make it possible to put the work of preparing against war on a solid basis. The Party branch has strengthened leadership over preparedness against war and revised its plan for preparedness against war. The company has streamlined the system of checking preparedness against war and holds regular checks on the results of preparedness against war. The comrades of the whole company fighting in unity keep watch over the northern frontiers of the socialist motherland around the clock.

What is the main thing to be done in making preparations against war? On what do we mainly rely in fighting a war? On this issue, differences in principle always exist between the proletarian military line and the bourgeois military line. We believe that the decisive factor in winning or losing a war is man, not matter. Preparation against war of aggression, including mental and material preparation, should be made seriously, but the main thing is mental preparation. Proceeding from the bourgeois idealist conception of history and the theory of weapons,Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged that fighting a war was "fighting a war with steel" and to prepare against war was to prepare "iron and steel." Stressing material preparation, he said not a word about mental preparation, about the human factor, about people's war. He vainly attempted to sabotage our army's work of preparing against war. Having criticized his fallacies, we in the work of preparing against war always put mental preparation first and persist in letting mental preparation push material preparation in various respects.

To be well prepared mentally against war of aggression, we stress work in the following three ways:

One, to teach cadres and fighters to take class struggle as the key link and firmly foster the idea of getting prepared to fight. Only by getting prepared mentally to wage war is it possible to carry out consciously the work of preparing against war in various respects on a solid basis. Starting with ideological education, we guide one and all to consciously overcome all ideological obstacles standing in the way of war preparation and make a point of utilizing the changes in the situation, in assignments and in personnel, which may easily give rise to ideological fluctuations, to conduct education on preparedness against war in an appropriate manner. This enables comrades of the whole company to maintain at all times a high fighting spirit. So, whatever changes may occur in the situation, in assignments and in personnel, they will always remain sober and grasp the idea of getting prepared against war firmly.

Two, to foster among cadres and fighters the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death." Only by fostering this revolutionary spirit in peace time is it possible to make them attack like a fierce tiger, defend themselves as if Mount T'ai were behind them and dare to fight and to win. In this respect, we have personal experiences. In the better of counter-attack in self-defense on the Chenpao Island, we relied on the invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, smashed the armed attacks by the Soviet revisionist aggressive forces, and victoriously defended the sacred territory of the mother country. More than 70 war heroes represented by the deputy company commander Wang Ch'ing-jung emerged. We give attention to constantly carrying out education on revolutionary heroism in the armed forces. Last March, we organized all the fighters of the company to re-visit the company's "honor room," invited the former company commanders back to the company to talk about the tradition, and seriously studied the heroic deeds of these comrades so as to inherit and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of the Chenpao Island battle. Fine steel must be smelted in fire, and the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death" must be tempered in practice. In the course of the work of preparing against war, we make a point of tempering the heroic and dogged revolutionary spirit of the cadres and fighters. For instance, during field

camping last winter and spring, the whole company, braving the cold of more than 30 degrees below zero, marched a long distance with full equipment. It chose narrow paths instead of highways, and mountains and streams instead of flat land. Despite extreme fatique, the men practiced charging toward the enemy and taking hilltops, arduously tempering a tenacious fighting will required in time of war.

Three, to guide cadres and fighters to strengthen the concept of people's war. Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war is a magic wand for conquering the enemy and winning the victory. Firmly believing in "the army and the people are the foundation of victory" ("On Protracted War") is an important aspect of making mental preparation against aggressive war. With a view to deepening our understanding of Chairman Mao's idea of people's war, we recalled how in the battle of counter-attack in self-defense on the Chenpao Island, the local people, men and women, old and young, turned out in full force. Militiamen actively took part in the fighting, women looked after the wounded, children served as sentinels, and old folks cooked. We severely criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary fallacies such as having a blind faith in weapons and steel and negating people's war. In work of preparing against war this year, we have seized all opportunities to study, criticize and train with the people. On many occasions we sent out company backbone cadres to schools to actively assist teachers and students in military training. We warmly received and vigorously supported militiamen who came to the company to learn military affairs. We also brought the company to the countryside to train so as to assist the poor and lower-middle peasants in learning military affairs. In the first half of this year alone, we trained over 720 militiamen for five units including a factory, a village and a school.

To actively handle military training well under the command of proletarian politics is also an important aspect of properly preparing against war. Practice shows that the cadres and fighters, having the progressive political spirit instilled into their minds and mastering exacting techniques to kill the enemy, will fight like tigers with wings. They will be invincible and better display the role of our army as a pillar of proletarian dictatorship.

In the matter of military training there has always been a sharp struggle between two ways of military thinking and two military lines. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, taking over the mantle of P'eng Te-huai and Lin Piao, energetically pushed the bourgeois military line and openly opposed Chairman Mao's military thinking and strategy and tactics of people's war. He negated the guidelines and principles for training as formulated by Chairman Mao for our army and the traditional methods of training in a vain attempt to turn our army into his tool for restoring capitalism. This is absolutely intolerable. Compared with past revolutionary wars, a future war against aggression will be different in certain respects, such as changes in operational targets, the development of weapons and equipment of both sides, etc. But whatever the changes in objective conditions and how weapons and equipment may develop, to win a war, we will still have to rely on the guidance of Chairman Mao's idea on people's war. Chairman Mao's military thinking is a scientific summing up of revolutionary wars, a universal truth guiding revolutionary wars. To make a success of training for preparation against war,

we must make a serious study of Chairman Mao's military thinking and resolutely act on it, and we must vigorously criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary fallacies and oppose him!

In training, we organize cadres and fighters to seriously study Chairman Mao's military works in connection with training and typical campaigns. We set up a "military thinking study group" made up of 15 cadres and fighters. With Chairman Mao's military thinking as a guide, this group has studied the operational characteristics of modern warfare. With due regard to the actual needs of military training in the company, it has compiled three sets of instruction manuals, which have played a highly significant role in promoting training for preparing against war. In accordance with the training method of "officers teach men, men teach officers and men teach men" ("Policy for Work in the Liberated Areas in 1946") as initiated by Chairman Mao, comrades of the whole company train hard, place exacting demands on themselves, fully promote military democracy, and whip up an upsurge in drilling among the rank and file. With an eye to the needs of future anti-aggression wars, efforts are made to strengthen training in close-quarter fighting and night fighting with emphasis on anti-tank and anti-aircraft warfare. The northeast frontiers of the mother country are located in the frigid zone. To adapt the company to operations in frigid zone and raise its fighting power, the cadres and fighters drill in laying an ambush and making raids in snowbound territory. To adapt the company to various conditions of future anti-aggression wars, we drill hard in fighting not only on land but also in the water. Facts show that provided class struggle is grasped as the key link and training for preparing against war is conducted according to Chairman Mao's military thinking, the work of preparing against war will be improved further and the fighting power of the company will be quickly increased.

Under the excellent situation where great victories have been gained in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, all the comrades of our company, determined to guard against conceit and rashness and press ahead with victories, will take concrete action to implement the great strategic policy of "being prepared against war and against natural disasters and doing everything for the people." They will further step up the work of preparing against war and make their contributions to the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship, the protection of the gains of the great cultural revolution, the defense of the great socialist mother country and to the liberation of our territory Taiwan.

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Strengthen Building of Worker Militia

by

Party Committee of Hutung Shihyard, Shanghai

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

In the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the militia in our plant thoroughly exposes and denounces Teng Hsiao-p'ing's crimes in undermining the militia building, and further raises its consciousness of class and line struggles. We are resolved to build the worker militia organization into a powerful tool for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and better fulfill the glorious task of opposing restoration at home and aggression from abroad.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the militia organization in our plant was rebuilt. Today there are more than seven thousand militiamen, of whom more than three thousand are backbone militiamen. Over the past years this worker militia has actively participated in class struggle in the plant and in society at large, playing an effective role in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and changing the pre-cultural revolution situation where the militia was alienated from actual class struggle. However, the acute struggle between the two lines still exist in militia work over the question of whether the militia should get involved in class struggle in society. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, alleges that it is "irregular" for the militia to become involved in class struggle in society, clamoring that worker militia in all enterprises should be "disbanded without exception." This fully exposes the mortal fear and inveterate hatred of the bourgeoisie, both new and old, inside and outside the Party against the worker militia.

Participation in class struggle in society by the worker militia is a new thing that emerged from the great proletarian cultural revolution, which shattered the interference and sabotage of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line against militia work and enabled us to increase our awareness of the need to organize the worker militia to participate in class struggle in society. Over the past years we have adopted a variety of forms to organize the worker militia to go to the first line of class struggle in society. All the militiamen of the plant participate in major political activities in society, and links are established between the plant and the neighborhoods. Worker militia detachments are sent to two districts with which the plant has established connections. Meanwhile, the more than seven thousand militiamen are organized in a planned way and by separate stages and groups to perform beat duties outside the plant or use their spare time to go by turn to the districts with which the plant has established connections to join the militia detachments in combat. By performing beat duties in the streets and lanes, the worker militia has severely struck at a handful of class enemies undermining the socialist revolution and construction, and used proletarian ideas to educate the youngsters. Relatively remarkable results have been attained. The militia of our plant, in cooperation with the neighborhood cadres, public security

fighters, retired workers and revolutionary parents, has successively sponsored more than 200 study classes of various types and established a political evening school to assist the neighborhoods in unfolding "facing the sun" activities and developing a sharp struggle with the bourgeoisie to win over the youngsters. Some youngsters who were corrupted by the bourgeoisie and made mistakes, after being patiently educated by the worker militia, exposed on their own initiative the abettors behind the scenes, corrected their mistakes, and made fast progress. The masses said happily: "The Party's sunlight shines on a thousand families. Sunflowers are in full bloom in the neighborhoods. The militia water them and apply manure to them; they catch insects, remove weeds and foster new shoots."

Lenin once said: "The armed workers are the shoots of a new army, the organizational cells of a new social system." ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3, p. 669) The worker militia should be one of the component parts of the proletarian army, one of the strong pillars of proletarian dictatorship. What does the worker militia do? They take part in class struggle. Under the Party's centralized leadership, the vast masses of militiamen not only share the task of the People's Liberation Army in national defense, building up national defense, and guarding against aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, but also struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party and class enemies in society at large. The nature and tasks of the militia organization are such that the militia must have a high level of class struggle concept and the technique of class struggle, and it can enhance its class struggle concept and improve its class struggle technique only by taking part in the actual class struggle. It is precisely in the course of taking part in class struggle in society that the militiamen of our plant have mastered the characteristics and laws of the activities of class enemies in society and understand that the bourgeoisie inside the Party in carrying out their restorationist activities always echo class enemies in society. This way they have continued to raise their consciousness of fighting for the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. And conscious understanding will be translated into conscious action. Active participation in class struggle in society gives a strong impetus to the ideological and organizational building and military training of the militia and to placing militia work on a firm footing.

Class struggle in the plant is part of class struggle in society. In order to achieve the task of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship in the industrial sector, the worker militia must also take an active part in class struggle in its own unit. Over the past years, while actively organizing the worker militia to take part in class struggle in society, we have made a point of bringing into full play the fighting role of the worker militia in class struggle in our own plant. Continuing to accumulate experience in this respect, we have gradually formed a number of more healthy systems to insure the placing of militia activities on a regular basis. For instance, a weekly meeting is held to analyze the condition of the enemy, when the militia analyze the trends of class struggle in the whole plant, in their own worships and on the shop floor, so that "I understand the condition of the enemy and know his move." The method whereby "where

crimes occur, the militia is assigned to handle the cases" is used in dealing timely blows to the sabotage activities of class enemies, forming a dragnet of proletarian dictatorship and changing the past situation where cases were handled by a few people mysteriously. The militia is assigned to the protection of essential departments. A fixed number of militiamen is assigned for fixed hours to fixed spots to guard the public grounds inside the plant. A supervisory group with the militia as the backbone is set up to strengthen supervision over the transformation of the four categories of elements inside the plant in order to give full play to the might of mass dictatorship. The more than 7,000 militiamen throughout the plant all participate in class struggle, so "everywhere there are sentry posts and militiamen." We not only organize the worker militia to grasp the "visible" class struggle but also mobilize them to grasp the "invisible," namely the ideological, class struggle, to take the lead in criticizing the bourgeoisie, revisionism and the ideologies of all other exploiting classes. This has made possible not only the strengthening of the security work inside the plant but also the consolidation of the socialist position in the ideological and cultural spheres, being conducive to the exercise of all-round dictatorship by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

The worker militia, rebuilt during the great cultural revolution, is a workers armed body built according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Its appearance and growth deals a heavy blow to the restorationist activities of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. It is not surprising, therefore, that the bourgeoisie inside the Party and class enemies in society do their utmost to attack the worker militia. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique once viciously attacked the Shanghai militia's participation in class struggle in society as "something ingenious" promoting "multi-centers of dictatorship." In stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, Teng Hsiao-p'ing plotted to alter the correct orientation of militia building and vainly attempted to abolish it. The more such people as Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing are hostile to and oppose the worker militia, the more we must step up the building of the worker militia amid struggles. When Teng Hsiao-p'ing vigorously attacked the worker militia, we organized the worker militia to make a serious study of Marx and Lenin and a series of relevant instructions given by Chairman Mao, thereby hardening our resolve to build up the militia according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution and under the Party's leadership, the worker militia with industrial workers as the mainstay and formed on the basis of consolidation of the great revolutionary alliance, has been an important force of proletarian dictatorship. It has already demonstrated its abundant vitality in class struggle. The militiamen of our plant promptly saw through Teng Hsiao-p'ing's criminal plot of undermining militia building after studying the teachings of revolutionary mentors and recalling the historical experience of the two-line struggle in militia work. Taking Teng as the target of struggle, they have more consciously participated in class struggle in society and in the plant, criticizing with concrete action the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces and protecting and developing the gains of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the course of practice we have come to understand that in making a success of militia building amid struggles the most basic thing is to intensify the Party's centralized leadership over militia work.

"Our principle is that the Party commands the gun and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party." ("Problems of War and Strategy") For the Party to control the armed forces is a Marxist principle formulated by Chairman Mao, a revolutionary tradition of our Party and army. The worker militia is a mass armed body with industrial workers as the mainstay, and it also must be placed under the Party's absolute leadership. Thus intensifying the Party's centralized leadership over militia work is a cardinal matter for Party committees at various levels. The Party committee of our plant continues to strengthen its leadership over militia work by placing it on the agenda of important businesses and by periodically studying the major problems of militia building.

First and foremost, the Party's centralized leadership over militia work means leadership by Chairman Mao's revolutwonary line. Arming the vast numbers of militia cadres and fighters with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is a fundamental guarantee for doing a good job of militia work. In connection with struggle-criticism-transformation of the great cultural revolution, the criticism of Lin and Confucius, the study of theory, the criticism of Water Margin, and repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we have organized the militia of the whole plant to study the Marxist theory of the state and the Marxist thesis on exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, thus raising the consciousness of all militiamen in regard to the implementation of the Party's basic line. To guarantee study by militiamen, on the "militia activity day" held once a week in our plant and in light of the results of militia building and the characteristics of militia work, we select for reading relevant works by Marx, Engels, and Lenin and by Chairman Mao, criticize the sabotage and interference of the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing in militia work and seriously strengthen the ideological building of the militia. Strengthening the centralized leadership of the Party over militia work must also be supported by an appropriate organizational form. The revolutionary organizational form should be subordinated to the needs of revolutionary struggle, and this is also true of militia organization. Over the past years, proceeding from the need of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, we have gradually developed and perfected an organizational system under which the militia is integrated with the security and fire fighting forces, a "3-in-1" system. A deputy secretary of the plant Party committee is in charge of militia work, and the Party committee sets up an armed security group to assume responsibility for the plant's militia, security and fire-fighting work. In various workshops and departments the Party general branch secretaries are concurrently instructors or counsellors of the militia, so that there is leadership, organizational measures, work objectives, and guarantee of needed time.

The revolutionization of the militia itself is an important problem that concerns the political quality and fighting capability of the militia, and it must be tackled in real earnest. In leading the militia work, the Party committee must under no circumstances be satisfied with "hearing reports, drawing up measures, and arranging time schedules." Instead, it should put the emphasis on properly carrying out ideological and political education among militia cadres and fighters. In a situation where classes exist, class struggle in society is bound to be reflected within the militia organization, and it is necessary to make an effort to prevent

bourgeois ideology from eroding the militia. We give constant attention to carrying out among the militiamen a class education, education on line and on preparedness against war, urging them to study the fine tradition, thinking and workstyle of the Liberation Army. At the same time, we give special attention to training militia cadres amid struggles and cultivating advanced models among them. In the last few years, more than 240 militiamen in our plant have joined the Chinese Communist Party, and more than 200 militiamen have been recommended by the masses for leading posts at various levels.

Today, the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts has won great victories, but the class and line struggles are not over. Class enemies are still on the move and the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road. Imperialism, particularly Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, have not given up hopes of subjugating us. We must take class struggle as the key link and step up the building of the worker militia. We are determined to learn from the Liberation Army and from the worker militia in the capital, and build our worker militia into a combat contingent capable of taking up the pen and the gun, to fight against the bourgeoisie inside the Party and class enemies at home and abroad, to grasp revolution and promote production, other work and preparedness against war, and to further consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Struggle Between Two Kinds of World Outlook Concerning Understanding of Life

by

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The multifarious and fabulously beautiful biological world of the earth today is in continuous development. Yet more than three billion years ago, this planet of ours was without a single trace of life. How did life on the earth come into being? How can we know the "secret" of life? For many thousand years, heated debates have been carried out on these questions. The reactionary ruling classes have all along used their idealist and metaphysical outlook of life to serve their reactionary politics. On the other hand, the proletariat and the revolutionary people have tried hard to unveil the material substance of life so as to verify the objective law governing the development of the motion of matter from a lower to a higher level and to propagate the dialectics of things. Today, reviewing the history of struggle over the outlook of life between materialism and idealism and between dialectics and metaphysics will help us deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, refute Teng's fallacies opposing the application of Marxism as a guide to the study of natural science, persist in using Marxist dialectical materialism to guide scientific researches, and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in the sphere of science and technology.

Confrontation over the Outlook of Life in Ancient Times

Life exists in comparison with death. "Without life, death cannot be seen; without death, life also cannot be seen." ("On Contradiction") In primitive society, people saw from the death of their relatives and espouses, birds and animals the difference between living and dead things: man while alive has the ability to change nature dynamically; an animal while alive has the ability to adapt to nature subjectively; and such ability vanishes with death. Thus, they regarded this peculiarity which distinguished living things from dead as life. What is the cause of this peculiarity? It was beyond the understanding of primitive men. They were influenced by the scenes in their dreams to produce the concept of the soul, considering that outside the physical body there was an ultra-material soul, that death was the separation of the body from the soul and life was the union of soul and body. While the physical body was bound to die, the ultra-material soul could be eternal. This concept of the soul of the primitive men was a reflection of the low level of productive forces and cognitive power at that time.

With the development of crop planting and stock-breeding, people gradually saw from the antagonism between life and matter the unity between them. Just as fish cannot live without water and crops cannot grow without the soil, so human beings and all living things cannot survive without air, rain, and sunlight. Obviously, the existence of life depends on the

nutrition of non-living substance. Not only that, but they also found that the generation of life was inseparable from non-living matter. That rotten grass generated fire-flies and putrid fish bred moth was an intuitive understanding of the ancients concerning the birth of living things from the transformation of dead things. "The essence of water itself generates fish"; "the vapor of the earth itself produces grass" (Wang Ch'ung, "Lun Heng: Chapter on Beginning of Life") This was the ancients' speculation that life might be directly produced from non-living matter like water and soil. These views, though they could not help understand the real cause of the emergence and development of living things, disavowed the "theory of the soul" and advocated that life might "spontaneously emerge" from matter, glittering with the radiant thought of naive materialism.

But in class society, out of the need to fool people, reactionary rulers did their utmost to stifle materialism on the outlook of life. On the other hand, the idealist outlook of life was promoted and developed on the basis of the concept of the soul. In China's ancient times, the confucians who represented the reactionary, declining classes vociferously advocated the "theory of Heavenly mandate," babbling that a man received his "mandate from Heaven" and Heaven was "the father of all things." They demanded that the working people respect the will of Heaven, revere ghosts and gods, and forbade them to rise up and master their own destinies. At that time the Legalists who represented the newly rising landlord class launched a tit-for-tat struggle against such reactionary fallacies. For example, the materialist Wang Ch'ung of the Han dynasty explicitly pointed out: "Heaven cannot purposely produce men". ("Lun Heng: Chapter on Material Force") "When Heaven and earth join in force, all things will generate themselves." ("Lun Heng: Chapter on Nature") He held that men and all living things were created, not by Heaven purposely, but as a result of the interaction of material "vital force." Lo Ch'in-shun of the Ming dynasty also held that "the growth and the recessing of all things" were due to "the motion and rest, going and coming" of vital force. "The concentration of force gives life; its dispersion results in death." It had nothing whatsoever to do with such things as "Heavenly principles." ("The Difficulty of Knowing") This outlook of life of naive materialism exposed the deceptive nature of the Confucian doctrines and played a positive role in exalting the thought that "man will triumph over nature" and inspiring the fighting will of the people.

Naive materialists insisted on the unity of life and matter, but they were still unable to understand the conditions of this unity at that time. "Without these necessary given conditions there can be no identity whatsoever." ("On Contradiction") Hence, publicized by the ruling classes, idealism on the outlook of life exemplified by the "theory of Heavenly mandate" and the "theory of the soul" continued to gain substantial development and later combined with religious superstitions to propagate such things as reincarnation of the soul and Karma (the law of retribution), thereby poisoning the people for a long time. Teleology advanced by Aristotle in the late period of ancient Greece held that life was a product of matter, but it also held that matter could be transformed into life only if it depended on a certain ultra-material "intrinsic purpose" (or "entelechies"). He attempted in this way to "unify" the antagonism between life and matter, while actually aiding the growth of the "theory of the soul." In the dark Middle Ages, feudal rulers combined this teleological outlook of life with religious theology to preach such reactionary

doctrines as the indestructibility of the soul and life being god's creation. On the other hand, they struck brutal blows at all attempts to unveil the phenomena of life through science.

This was a fierce battle between two armies over the outlook of life in ancient times. It told us that since classes came into being, the class itself has been a mainstay of understanding. Thus, the outlook of nature, the outlook of life included, is invariably branded with a class coat of arm, serving the interests of a definite class and a definite political line. In class society, an ultra-class outlook of nature has never existed.

From Mechanical Outlook of Life to "Vitalism"

During the late period of the Middle Ages in Europe, the newly emerging bourgeoisie in order to overthrow feudal rule needed to free itself from spiritual ropes such as the soul and God hampering the "liberation of individuality" of the bourgeoisie. They energetically propagated the material substance of life and violently attacked the theological outlook of life.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, following the development of capitalist production and the emergence of machinery manufacturing and metallurgical industries, mechanics first leapt to the leading position in natural science in those days. At the same time anatomy also developed. From mechanics and anatomy people discovered that the body of man and animal was more or less the same as a machine, its every movement being controlled by the interaction of its "components," organs such as the heart, vessels and bones and all kinds of power it generated. According to this understanding, Descartes in the 17th century was the first to set forth the thesis that "the animal is a machine." Subsequently, a French doctor Lamettrie in the 18th century went further and stated that "man is but an upright walking machine," that what was called the soul was but the functional activity of this "living machine," and that without the physical configuration of the "living machine" there would be no soul. This mechanical explanation concerning motion of life was materialist. In China's ancient times, the atheistic thought that "when the form exists God exists; when the form withers God perishes" (Fan Chen, On the Extermination of God) was at this time verified in mechanics and anatomy. The newly emerging bourgeoisie picked up the scalpel of mechanics to enucleate the ultra-material soul from the life's sphere of animal and man, and the solemn temple of the theological outlook of life was punctured and riddled with holes. However, the mechanical-materialist outlook of life which regarded the human body as a machine was metaphysical. This metaphysics produced very deep negative influence on medicine and biology, which has continued up to the present.

Life's motion, it is true, embraces mechanical motion. But as a higher form of physical motion, life's motion far exceeds the scope of mechanics. At that time the materialists, applying mechanics to interpret life, attempted "to use the shifting of position to explain all changes, and quantitative differences to explain all qualitative differences." (Engels, Dialectics of Nature, p. 231) This could not but cause their interpretation to bear mechanical superficiality and one-sidedness. Where did the capacity of automatic

ingestion and feeding of material of the "living machine" come from? Who was depended on in designing, manufacturing and installing it? Why did living things have special functions of nutrition, growth, proliferation and response to stimulation distinct from non-living things? They were in no position at all to answer.

With the mechanists falling into a dilemma, others looked for the causes of life's motion outside the mechanical structure of the various "components" of the organic body. In this period, a German mathematician and physicist Liebniz proposed that the organic body of life was composed of "monads" created by God. The monad itself was capable of motion; it was also the spirit or "entelechies." Later, a German doctor Stahl proposed "vitalism," holding that the organic body was merely a passive physical configuration, and that it was "vital force" alone that led to the motion of life. Thus, life was again set against matter.

Faced with the attack of idealism, mechanism could not evade the specific question of differentiation between life and non-life, but it could not free itself from the rigid mechanical framework. As a result, as many kinds of "force" were conceived for as many kinds of inexplicable phenomena of life. Such terms as force of sensation, nervous force, and force of contraction appeared one after another. "Force" almost became the sanctuary for those mechanists to escape from the intractable problems of life. When tracing the source of all kinds of force, they could not but go outside matter to search for the "primary propulsion" of the "living machine." In this way, Descartes retained a place for the soul in the pineal body of the human brain, while Lamettrie rather vaguely conceived a "primary foundation of motion." As a matter of fact, the so-called "primary foundation of motion" was just another name of the soul. Mechanists who once were anti-"spiritism" heroes eventually had to surrender to "vitalism" and "spiritism."

This was a tragedy in the history of natural science. This tragedy precisely demonstrated the lack of revolutionary thoroughness and the world outlook limitations of the bourgeoisie. They looked upon the capitalist system as a permanent "ideal realm" and looked at nature from isolated, one-sided and static viewpoints. Thus, although they for the first time achieved a new understanding of the material substance of life on the basis of modern science and through analytical methods, yet the metaphysical world outlook prevented them from seeing the mutual linkage and transformation of things, and so when attempting an overall understanding of the essence of life, they could not withstand the attack of idealism nor carry materialism through to the end. Finally, the mechanist materialists on the outlook of life mixed up with the idealists. Shouldn't this be taken as a lesson by those who today still believe that "natural science is of course materialist"?

The Birth of Dialectical-Materialist Outlook of Life

From the second half of the 18th century to the 19th century, capitalist production promoted the rapid development of chemistry and physics. The cellular theory revealed a common form of life among innumerable biological species. The theory of evolution demonstrated the development and evolution of living things from a lower to a higher level, from being simple to complex. This then provided conditions for people to further understand life from the process of transformation of contradictions in matter itself.

"Chemistry can be termed the science of the qualitative changes of bodies as a result of changed quantitative composition." (Engels, Dialectics of Nature, p. 49) During the first half of the 19th century, organic chemistry developed rapidly to meet the needs of industrial production in the textile, dye stuffs, chemical fertilizer, pharmaceutical and other industries. With chemistry applied to the field of life, man strode into a new stage in knowing life. In 1828, the young German chemist Wiler for the first time produced urea by heating ammonium cyanide. Initially, many people had all along thought that there was an unbridgeable gulf between the organic and the inorganic world, and that organic matter could be generated only by depending on the "vital force" within the organic body. The success of this experiment had a violent impact on such metaphysics and idealism. And for the first time the dialectical law that the opposition between organic and inorganic matter might be transformed under certain conditions acquired a reliable scientific basis. Subsequently, organic substances such as fats and carbohydrates were also successively synthesized using chemical methods. In this way, "the vestige of mysticism of these so-called organic compounds is swept away." (Ibid, p. 175) This showed that the emergence of living matter and even the origin of life might be realized by chemical action, and "the gulf between organic and inorganic nature which initially was thought to be unbridgeable is largely filled up." (Ibid, p. 14)

With chemistry paving the way, natural science marched on the sphere of life. Not long afterward, two German biologists Schleiden and Schwann with the help of optical microscopes confirmed that cells were basic units of the life activity of organism. In the 1860's, the German biologist Hekel on the basis of the cellular theory proposed a theory concerning the albuminous body, which he held was the chief substance that constituted all cells, and whose metabolism was the basis for all life movements of organism. At this time, the unity of opposites within the biological body also gradually revealed itself.

People discovered that metabolism of the albuminous body in cells was actually a process of transformation of substances that opposed as well as complemented each other. On the one hand, it continually decomposed, "catabolizes" into a lifeless simple substance causing the destruction of the body itself; on the other hand, it unceasingly absorbed nutrition from the external world, "anabolizes" into a living thing similar to the body, for the building and development of itself. Transformation of matter accompanied transformation of energy. In the course of metabolism, synthesis of organic material required absorption of energy, which came from energy released during decomposition of absorbed nutrient. The nutrient came from nature, and energy, in the final analysis, also came from solar energy stored in the nutrient. In this way, mutual transformation between life and non-life became very obvious: "Life consists precisely and primarily in this--that a being is at each moment itself and yet something else." (Engels, Anti-Dühring, p. 118) Every cell that constituted the living body and even the whole organic world actually existed in continuous transformation of life and death in itself.

The rich data of natural science revealed the lively dialectics. Although at that time some natural scientists in their own fields of study came into contact with the transformation of matter and energy in the process

of life, yet bound by metaphysics, they limited this transformation to the scope of chemistry and physics. They disavowed the unity of opposites as the fundamental law of the universe, as well as the fundamental law of the motion of life. Hence, when truth touched the tips of their noses, they still missed it. For example, the chemist Libiche and the physicist Helmholz both held that "life is as old as matter," and that life could only come from the "embryonic seed of life" within the universe. This was a kind of metaphysics that basically denied the mutual transformation between life and non-living matter. The biologist Pasteur once used experiment to negate the "spontaneous generation theory" that non-living matter might directly generate life; but lacking in correct theoretical guidance, he arrived at the wrong conclusion that "living things can only come from living things," thereby also totally negating transformation of non-living substance into living substance. These facts show that "contempt of theory is evidently the most certain way to think naturalistically, and therefore incorrectly." (Engels, Dialectics of Nature, p. 43) Natural science without correct theoretical guidance will surely go astray.

The confusion of bourgeois scientists on the outlook of life was inevitable. After the mid-19th century, proletariat revolution storms rose everywhere. The bourgeoisie feared the emergence of the proletarian revolutionary strength and their own destruction, so naturally they negated the dialectics of transformation of life and death. But in this same period, Marxism, the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, like the morning sun rising in the east, began to illuminate the world with its great radiance. In the 1870's, Engels, the mentor of proletariat revolution, while involving himself in the struggle to defend and develop the cosmological outlook of dialectical materialism and criticize all kinds of bourgeois and opportunist ideas, generalized all the achievements of life science at the time and creatively proposed the life outlook of dialectical materialism. He pointed out: "Life is the mode of existence of albuminous bodies, and this mode of existence essentially consists in the constant self-renewal of the chemical constituents of these bodies." "The origin of life must have been the result of chemical action." (Anti-Duhring, pp. 78, 70) This in reality was a summing up of prolonged debates on the outlook of life. For thousands of years, thinkers of the exploiting classes in their arguments either used the physical property of life to negate its peculiarity which distinguished it from non-life or stressed its peculiarity but obliterated its physical property. Engels' thesis on the problem of life profoundly revealed the essence and origin of life. It not only affirmed the physical property of life and showed the absence of an unbridgeable gulf between living and non-living substances, but at the same time also pointed out that the phenomena of life were the form of motion of this specific substance, the albuminous body, which was essentially different from the form of motion of other substances. Thus, for the first time, life and matter were unified materialistically and dialectically. It dealt heavy blows to idealism and metaphysics as well as greatly enriching the Marxist world outlook, providing a sharp theoretical weapon for man to know more about life.

The progress of 19th century chemistry and physics greatly deepened people's understanding of life, and the experimental observation data provided were extremely rich. But facts show that without the philosophical guidance of

dialectical materialism, even the wisest nautral scientist did not and could not make correct theoretical generalizations from these data. This was because the dialectical materialist "philosophy possessed something that was superior to them even in their own special sphere." (Engels, Dialectics of Nature, p. 182) It alone could open up broad prospects for people to know and transform nature correctly.

The Struggle on Life Outlook Continues

Since the beginning of the 20th century, driven by the practice of social production, biology has entered subcellular, deeper physical layers. To improve the quality of its products, the wool spinning industry has to study the microstructure of the protein of wool fibre; to increase production, the fermentative industry has to make clear the physical metabolic process within the cell Seed improvement in agriculture and the study of characteristics of pathogenic bacteria in medicine also called for a deep probe into the cells to explore the material basis of heredity and mutation of living things. At the same time, increasingly sophisticated technological means such as X-ray irradiation, isotope tracers and electron-microscopes have also been applied step by step to the biological sphere. In this way, the molecular picture in the process of life has gradually unfolded before people.

The truth is that the living albuminous body is a complex system chiefly composed of two categories of major molecules, protein and nucleic acid. The transformation of matter and energy in the metabolic process of the albuminous body of the cell is inseparable from the interaction of these two categories of major molecules. On the one hand, the realization of this process of transformation depends on the catalyzation of enzyme, and enzyme is protein. On the other hand, what kind of protein is synthesized and how much of it is synthesized in the organism is restrained and regulated by the nucleic acid molecule, and the renewal and functional exertion of the nucleic acid itself are inseparable from protein. Besides, there are also many small molecular substances playing the role of regulation and control. It is precisely the interaction of all these molecules that guarantees the continual self-renewal of the chemical constituents of the living albuminous bodies. In this way, the life process which in the last century could only be described roughly at the cellular level is greatly concretized at the molecular level.

The deepening of the study in natural science further verified the dialectical life process; on the other hand, the philosophical weapon of dialectical materialism, mastered by people, turned into a tremendous motive force for research in natural science. In the 1950's, Chinese scientists, having systhesized aminoacids, raw material of protein, proceeded with the scientific experiment of artificial synthesis of insulin. In 1965, inspired by Chairman Mao's great call "Break down superstitions and liberate our mind," the Chinese scientists, in pursuance with Engels' relevant teachings and relying on the masses and pooling the efforts of all together, artificially synthesized for the first time in the world protein which possessed bio-vitality--crystalline bovine insulin. This was a song of victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian line for scientific research. The success of artificial synthesis of protein opened the door to the investigation of "the secret of life," and once again violently pounded at the idealistic concepts of life such as "spiritism" and "God's creation."

The practical means provided by modern science exposed from still deeper material layers the inherent contradictory aspects of life's movement. This is the result of analysis. In the 18th and 19th centuries, people through analyses in natural science successively saw organs, tissues and cells which constituted the organism. Now they see the molecules. Analysis is for the purpose of understanding the whole from understanding its parts and unveiling the general linkage of things. Therefore, analysis and synthesis are mutually complimentary. The more deeper the analysis, the more conditions it creates for people to understand life as a whole. However, bourgeois scientists do not understand dialectics. They separate analysis from synthesis, continue to seek help from outdated metaphysics to interpret the new facts in the life science, and put a new clock of modern science over the old junk in philosophy and peddle it everywhere. As a result, the struggle between two kinds of world outlook in the concept of life was launched in new form.

At present, "reductionism" is a rather prevalent metaphysical idea in the realm of life science. This "theory" holds that living organism is a mechanical composition of certain molecules and atoms, and that the motion of life is the simple addition of physico-chemical motion of the molecules and atoms. They "reduce" the higher form of material motion to a lower form of motion, and sum up the law of life motion as the law of physico-chemical motion of non-living matter, thus completely obliterating the difference between living and non-living matter. But in fact, as we can see from the experiment of artificial synthesis of protein, the law of motion of protein molecules chemically systhesized and possessing bio-vitality differs qualitatively from the law of motion of aminoacid molecules. The virus of nature is a simple combination of nucleic acid and protein capsule. After entering into the host cell, it may exhibit life phenomena and is different from non-living matter; existing alone, it does not exhibit life phenomena and differs from the albuminous body of the cell. Although virus in biological evolution is not a transitional intermediate form of organism evolving from non-life to life, this type of physical morphology explains from one facet that development from non-life to life must undergo a process of from quantitative to qualitative leaps. Man's conscious dynamism cannot be reduced to biological adaptability, a higher form of life cannot be reduced to a lower form of life, and of course life cannot be reduced to physico-chemical motion of molecules and atoms. It is forever beyond any "reductionism" or "vitalism" to interpret the tenacious revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death of the proletarian revolutionary fighters and their persistent revolutionary will to fight against diseases. The adherents of "reductionism" deliberately obliterate these facts and declare that life is a "chemical machine" assembled from protein and nucleic acid molecules, and that whoever knows the "law of assembly" will gain an insight into the "secret of life." This "theory" "seeks to reduce qualitative differences to merely quantitative differences in combining identical smallest particles." (Engels, Dialectics of Nature, p. 233) In fact, this is no more than a reprint of 18th-century mechanism.

Supporters of "reductionism" also set fortuity against inevitability and negate the objective law of the origin of life on the earth. They hold that the emergence of life was merely the "chance meeting" of various primary organic molecules, and "calculated" that such a chance meeting could only take place once. There was nothing but fortuity. We do not disavow fortuity, but fortuity is a form of expression of inevitability.
The school of "reductionism" one-sidedly stresses

fortuity and in reality completely denies that life as it originated on the earth was the inevitable product of material motion under certain conditions. Later, from the meteorites and the surface of the moon people found such substances as amino-acids and purine and pyramidine which constituted nucleic-acid; from the interstellar space they found "organic molecular clouds." These scientific facts prove that raw materials which form the substances of life are not mysterious, and that given definite conditions, life may emerge anywhere. However, some scholars in the pay of the Soviet revisionists, following the footsprints of Western scientists, disavow the inevitablity of the origin of life on the earth and trumpet the "theory of oriented embryonic seeds." They declare that the most primitive life on the earth was "an embryonic seed" from "a rational civilization" in a certain extra-celestial planet (Problems of Philosophy, No. 2, 1973), yet shy away from saying how the "rational civilization" came into being. Both the bourgeoisie and the revisionists deliberately fabricated these fairy tales for no other purpose than that of attributing finally the emergence of life to the divine power of God. Hanging up the signboard of "modern science," they publicize the "theory of God's Creation" that was bankrupt long ago. This fully reveals the degeneration of the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists.

The fact that the modern bourgeoisie and revisionists seek help from the departed soul on the life outlook reflects that politically they are already like the sun setting in the western hills, a man dying fast. They preach "reductionism" and negate the objective law concerning the development of the form of motion of matter in nature from a lower to a higher level for the purpose of denying the objective laws of development of human society and seeking a false sense of comfort in the terror of impending destruction. However, the wheels of historical advance are irresistible. Capitalism is bound to perish, the torrents of inevitable victory of socialism cannot be turned back. It will be futile and a waste of effort for the bourgeois and revisionist overlords to attempt to continue to use the decadent life outlook to benumb the fighting will of the revolutionary people and to save themselves from destruction!

Recalling the history of man's understanding of life, we see that time and again breakthroughs were achieved in deadlocks. This devious and protracted course tells us: "Natural scientists may adopt whatever attitude they please, they are still under the domination of philosophy." (Dialectics of Nature, p. 187) Bourgeois idealism and metaphysics caused the natural scientists to go astray. The only way to help natural scientists overcome all difficulties and hazards and scale new heights is by relying on Marxist philosophy, this theoretical weapon of the proletariat. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, opposes using Marxist philosophy to guide the research in natural science for the purpose of turning natural science into a tool for countering Marxism and restoring capitalism. We should therefore deal head-on blows to and thoroughly criticized him.

Today, man's understanding of life is far from being exhausted. Confronting us are still many "riddles of the universe" that await to be unravelled. Idealism and metaphysics on the outlook of nature always use these "riddles" as their parasitical sites, while the reactionary political views of the

exploiting classes and the idealist and metaphysical views of nature always support and depend on one another. For this reason, the struggle between two kinds of world outlook in the sphere of life science will be protracted. We firmly believe that under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and with class struggle taken as the key link in deepening the criticism of the revisionist line, the life science, like all other branches of natural science, will gain still greater development in the struggle against idealism and metaphysics and make greater contributions to the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the acceleration of socialist construction.

* * *

The Moscow Edition of "Chart for Getting Promotions"

- On the fantastic essay "How To Become a Minister"

by

Sang Lou-tung (桑 娄 东)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 8, Aug. 1, 1976)

Old China had a gambling tool, known as "chart for getting promotions." On a piece of paper half a meter square were printed some figures who posed majestically with expanded chests. Each figure was given an "official rank" and a member. The gamblers cast their dies on the chart, trying their best to begin with "student," through "pao chief," "village chief" and "county magistrate"..... all the way up to the throne of the "Great President." Then it would be a "perfect score" and the pocket would be filled with banknotes. The "chart for getting promotions" in the casino was a portrait of the life of the reactionary ruling classes in old China. This dirty gimmick was long ago thrown into the dustbin of history together with the decadent social system which engendered it.

Today, we find another "chart for getting promotions" in that so-called "developed socialist" country. A hack writer called Alexander Levekov (列维科夫), acting on the instruction of his master, dished out an essay entitled "How To Become a Minister" in the Literary Gazette published in Moscow on November 5 last year. The essay dealt in length with the question of how young workers could get promotions and make a fortune. Right from the start, he said: "It is very interesting to find out how the workers fare and how high they can climb in rank." It makes one sick to read this fantastic essay. It would be more appropriate if its title were changed to read "The Moscow Edition of the 'Chart for Getting Promotions'."

According to this essay, a 20-year-old fitter called Shelgai (谢尔盖) in a certain machine-building plant "is eager to become a minister." This "desire" is applauded by the author, who asks people "not to pour cold water on him too soon." Provided that this fitter is "physically strong, intelligent and capable, full of energy and eager to make progress," it would be "quite easy" for him to realize "his own future." You don't believe it? The author, citing a "factual case," said that a high official who was recently appointed Minister of Truck Industry in the Soviet Union had spent more than 30 years in climbing to the throne after getting a series of promotions from "fitter," "foreman," "workshop director" and "manager." What is the secret of "getting promotions"? From his observation over a long period of time, the author arrives at this conclusion: The minister "is basically promoted from a vice minister," and a vice minister "is mainly selected from among managers." What about the manager? A manager is chiefly "appointed" from among "experts," "holders of diplomas of institutions of higher learning." For this reason, young workers who want to "climb to a position higher than a manger" and receive "tempting salaries" must obtained a "diploma from an institution of higher learning" by every conceivable means, a "modern form" of the "chart for getting promotions". Drawing an analogy, the author said that a "diploma" is like a

"train ticket," and "taking the train with one's ticket," one will "smoothly" head for the Kremlin along the "road of leadership posts." Otherwise, sorry, "the train will be gone," and your "outlet" can only be found "by the side of machine tools, presses, blast furnaces, automatic lines, transmission belts, and cranes."

What a wonderful self-confession. This fantastic essay openly treats how to get promotions and make a fortune as a subject of top importance to be studied by people. Without a sense of shame it advertises the Hatoyama-type "secret of being a man": to make a fortune one must get promotions and to get promotions one must go to a higher school. But this serves to fully expose the social evils under the rule of the Soviet revisionist bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, and the renegade features of Brezhnev and his gang. Engels once pointed out: "In the view of the bourgeoisie, there is nothing in the world that does not exist for money, and even they themselves are no exception. For they live to make money, and apart from making a fast buck, they know of no other happiness." ("The Condition of the Working Class in England," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 2, p. 564) Isn't what the Soviet revisionist renegade clique energetically publicizes today exactly such a bourgeois philosophy of life which is rotten to the core. It is not difficult to find the answer here to the question of how far they have degenerated.

Why is it that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique suddenly becomes "interested" in the "personal career of the worker"? This question itself is really "interesting." In the Soviet Union after all-round capitalist restoration, a handful of bureaucrats with Brezhnev as their head are "bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers." They and the working class are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other. The "minister" is a blood-thirsty oppressor, the worker the oppressed living in hell. They are like ice and burning coal that cannot be put in the same box, like water and fire which cannot tolerate each other. The author is deeply aware of his master's design in playing counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics, and by his ingenuity he prepares this "chart for getting promotions" which he thinks is fascinating. He arbitrarily puts the worker and the "minister" on the same bench, and citing instances where some worker aristocrats became "ministers," he embellishes the facade of dictatorship of the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, covers up the sharp contradiction and struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the Soviet Union today, and lures the workers to tie their destiny to the bureaucratic machine of social-imperialism. They think that in this way all will be quiet and peace prevail in the world. The Moscow edition of the "chart for getting promotions" is nothing more than a trap and a hoax set by Brezhnev and his gang.

Brezhnev and his ilk talk volubly about the way in which the worker can gain promotions and make a fortune. But can the naive Shelgais realize their "ideal"? Can they get an "admission ticket" to the Soviet revisionist officialdom--a diploma of an institution of higher learning? Answer: not necessarily. The reason is that the Soviet Union today is ruled by a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie. They hate the workers, and the exploitation and enslavement of the latter provide the condition on which their survival depends. They are particularly avaricious and, using the power they usurp, put their own children and those of their relatives in institutions of

higher learning, so they may become government officials in the future and hereditary bourgeois successors. They turn everything into a commodity, buying and selling in rubles "college diplomas," "academic degrees," "academic titles," etc. Indeed, "one can use money to make a ghost push a grindstone." The gate of a college is open only to the rich and the influential. How can the broad masses of workers and peasants spend thousands of rubles for a college diploma like the bureaucrats do? The realization of the "chart for getting promotions" is protected by the "official seal" of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Here is the real "secret." Therefore, so far as thousands of ordinary young workers are concerned, a "university" is a forbidden zone, and there is no place for them at all in officialdom.

The Soviet Union founded by Lenin was once the motherland of the working people. After the victory of the October Revolution, in accordance with Lenin's teachings large numbers of worker-peasant-soldier representatives tested in struggle were selected for work in central and local leadership organs at all levels and played a tremendous role in establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, Brezhnev and his ilk, who are allegedly "interested" in the careers of individual young workers, viciously smear the "selection system," initiated by Lenin as "out-dated" and "prohibited by modern science and technology." In fact, the prohibition comes from the bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie. This is naked betrayal of Lenin and of the Soviet proletariat.

The Moscow edition of the "chart for getting promotions" is of course a hoax to the Soviet people, but it reflects the utter decadence of Soviet revisionist officialdom. Don't you see that a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeois elements mount the stage in this fashion? "A soldier who doesn't want to become a general is a bad soldier"--sinister remarks such as this are taken as golden rules. College diplomas are taken as bricks to know open the big and small gates of the Kremlin, and climbing the "staircase" step by step is decreed to be the iron rule of getting official promotions. From this stems mutual deception, flattery, bribery, plagiarism, hiring of ghost writers, etc. in today's officialdom and examination halls. Commenting on Self-exposure in Officialdom, a critical novel published in the late Ch'ing dynasty, Lu Hsün said: "All narrations are about flattery, bribery, deceit, intrigues, struggle for power." (Outline History of Chinese Novels) Today a handful of Soviet revisionist high officials riding roughshod over the working people are compiling a fantastic new Self-exposure in Officialdom based on their own ugly deeds.

There must be light at the end of the tunnel. The Brezhnev renegade clique is exposing itself. The "gay world" they portray in the "chart for getting promotions" will not last long. The Soviet working class at the bottom layer of the "chart for getting promotions" wants revolution, not government appointments, looking upon the official emoluments of revisionism as dirt. They will certainly hold aloft Lenin's banner, carry forward the spirit of the October Revolution, pull this group of blood suckers including Brezhnev down from the pinnacle in the "chart for getting promotions" and give them the punishment they deserve. "We ask the God of Plague: 'Where are you bound?' Paper barges aflame and candle-light illuminate the sky."

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